

HISTORY OF CABINETS.

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FROM THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND
TO THE
ACQUISITION OF CANADA AND
BENGAL.

BY

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CHAPTER I.

DETTINGEN.

1742-3.

Attempt to Impeach Walpole—Secret Service Money—Pulteney in the Lords—Carteret at Hanover—His Ascendancy in Council—Settling a King's Speech—Disappointment of Opposition—More Troops for Hanover?—Limiting of Public-houses—George II. Secretly Consults Walpole—Carteret and the King at Dettingen—Jealousy of Carteret's Reticence—Pelham Succeeds Wilmington at the Treasury—First Lesson to a First Lord.

WALPOLE being at length driven from power, the demolition of his system of rule, so frequently and loudly promised, was feverishly awaited by the crowd who exulted in his fall.

To make a show of redeeming the pledges given to search out corruption and to bring evil-doers to punishment, Lord Limerick moved for a Secret Committee to inquire into the malpractices and abuses of the ten preceding years. But it was hard to induce the Commons which had rejected the greater to adopt the lesser charge, confined as it was in scope to the personal conduct of the late Minister, and it took all the arts of Pitt and Pulteney to obtain a majority of seven. The zeal of the Commons for retrenchment speedily cooled. Vows of Executive reform could not be entirely ignored; yet if the distribution of blame were to be inexorably just, not a few who had shared in the late triumph were in danger of being found aiders and abettors of sin. Proofs indeed were said to be forthcoming, and the Treasury was ex-

horted to expose purposes which no man who loved his country could think of without indignation—the bribing of votes, the purchase of boroughs, the enlisting of hirelings, the multiplying of dependents, and the corrupting of Parliaments.

The Committee gave their chief attention to the use made of Secret Service money; but they were baffled at every turn, and made little way. Nicholas Paxton, confidential solicitor to the Treasury, when examined as to election payments, refused to answer questions that might implicate others or criminate himself. He had been brought up under Cracherode, in the previous reign, and received from him when he retired a balance in hand of £5,000, ostensibly for the purpose of carrying on the business of Government at the poll. Under the efficient management of the deposed Minister, the working capital of corruption grew, and it appeared that he had received altogether about £94,000, for the specific application of which he stoutly refused to answer, and he was thereupon committed to Newgate. The Committee reported that from 1731 to 1741 vast sums had been spent as Secret Service money. They contrasted the amount with that expended from 1707 to 1717, a period which included a long war, a dangerous rebellion, a disputed succession, and the Union with Scotland. The amounts paid from the time of the Revolution were constantly on the increase. From 1731 to 1741 they amounted to £1,440,128—upon an average £144,000 a year.

John Scrope, M.P. for Lyne Regis, who had been for many years Business Secretary to the Department, when called on to give evidence, refused to take an oath which would have bound him to disclose what had been done with £1,052,211 traced to his hands and those of the Minister, for the purposes of Secret Service.

Consideration was shown to his advanced age and personal character, and he was allowed time to reconsider. He told the Committee, when summoned a second time, that he had consulted the most eminent lawyers, and best divines of his acquaintance, and that they concurred in holding him bound by his official obligation to the late First Lord and to the King. He had laid the case before his Majesty, who declined to permit his disclosure of the details he might be asked to give as a witness, and, be the consequences what they might, he respectfully refused to be sworn. At his time of life it was not worth while to leave

it in the power of any man to say that he had betrayed the Sovereign or the Minister who had long trusted him ; and he was therefore prepared to abide the resolution of the Committee, whatever it might be. His scruples were respected, and he was not pressed further. There were still some sanguine enough to hope that out of Cornwall light might be elicited. Mr. Edgcumbe, well known for his practical popularity there, had a hint that he would be expected to attend ; and as his transactions on behalf of the Ministry had been chiefly with the Duke of Newcastle, he naturally felt that he might enlist the susceptibilities of his Grace in a clement proceeding to ward off the blow. He longed not for office, but for a coronet, of which he had been disappointed more than once to make way for bigger men ; but the fulness of time was come, and the dignity promptly gazetted would baffle the curiosity of the Commons. Thus it came to pass, to the wonderment of not a few, that the Member for Plympton was created a Baron.¹ Sir John Barnard, who had often wrestled with Walpole on the floor of finance, declared himself so disgusted with the inveteracy shown towards the fallen Minister that he retired from the Committee. They did their best to get secondary evidence of the offences charged, but felt obliged regretfully to own that not more than £1,400,000 of public money remained unaccounted for : and that little more than £57,000 had gone to pay the writers in the *Gazetteer*, the defenders of the faith that was dead. For a show of sincerity in tracking corruption through its official windings, a Bill was passed granting an indemnity to anyone who should criminate himself in his testimony before the Committee. But such a precedent for *ex post facto* inquisition would have been, it was felt, highly inconvenient. It was denounced in the Peers by Carteret as unconstitutional, and rejected by 109 to 57. In the Commons it was moved that the rejection of the Bill by the Lords was an obstruction of justice, and might prove a fatal blow to the liberties of the nation. The promoters of the Bill, however, did not on this occasion succeed in collectively keeping their countenance, and but 193 to 245 voted censure on the Upper House ; and upon this closing scene of Walpolian rule the historic curtain falls. From time to time a corner is raised by cynical Horace the younger, or little Lord Hervey, and we

¹ 17th April, 1742.

catch a glimpse of the doings which the Secret Committee sought in vain to pry into. But the rest of the acts of Sir Robert, all that he did, all the pensions he gave, and all the Members he bought, are not to be found in any of the books of the Kings of England.

Baffled in their search for probable details by the refusal of the ex-Minister's agents to peach on their master, the Committee relied on general notoriety as sufficient evidence of the fact ; which it is indeed impossible for anyone to doubt who reads the personal memoirs of the time, reinforced by partial disclosures of half-repentant accomplices willing to float ashore with the turning tide, but not expected to remember too much or too particularly what might directly compromise former friends. It was one of these indecencies of political life which everyone in public declared to be scandalous, and from which few in private were altogether free. Hervey and Horace Walpole talk of the matter in the same cynical tone of half-banter and half-blame with which they speak of wantonness in old men, or indelicacy in women. Neither could have kept his countenance had he tried to speak gravely of Treasury investments in rural boroughs as morally wrong. Morality was held to have nothing to do with the matter ; but it was always an open question among privileged gamblers, how far it was worth while playing with some few of the lowest cards marked, when everyone knew that no game of office could be won without them. There was, indeed, a certain jealousy whenever there seemed to be an excessive interference by Government in the Seat-market. What at the utmost it actually amounted to does not distinctly appear ; but when the Government was strong and the Exchequer rich, there was always a disposition among the unofficial buyers of boroughs to grumble at their spoiling the market ; and the excessive use of irresponsible power in this as in other respects was condemned as unfair.

The accusation of having surreptitiously shared in Government contracts was endorsed by Lord Limerick's Committee ; but the friends of the accused Minister found it easy to repel this, by a sifting analysis of the vague and unsatisfactory evidence adduced against him. That corruption of this kind was not uncommon we may reasonably infer from the phlegmatic tone in which it was discussed, and the readiness with which the imputation was

believed. But Walpole had no need to sully his hands with constructive bribery of this sort ; and any appellate tribunal impartially constituted would have reversed this portion of the verdict against him, and returned at least one of not proven.

The Session closed without anything having been done to prevent the continuance by the Cabinet of the clandestine practices, the name of which had thrown Parliament into such paroxysms of virtue. That they were punctually and persistently resumed, the correspondence of Ministers with one another and with their respective agents sufficiently shows. For

"Ye blessed creatures, we do hear ye,
One to another call."

Walpole, who had pulled the strings throughout the complicated negotiations and manœuvres that followed his resignation, had succeeded to his heart's content in splitting the Opposition into its primary elements. The secession of Carteret, Sandys, Winchilsea, Gower, and Pulteney and their numerous friends, drove Pitt and Grenville to reorganise their party in alliance with that of Shippen and Sir J. Hynde Cotton, on a new though narrow basis.

Loud and deep, incoherent but inveterate, were still the demands for impeachment. Walpole was no coward, and having survived numberless vicissitudes of fortune, he had grown habitually hard to frighten ; and he used to make open fun of real as well as imaginary danger. He could laugh without affectation in the very hour of his fall ; and honestly pity the King when he wept for it. Yet there were moments in which his stout heart quailed at the contingency of the power he had lost falling into reckless and vindictive hands. His own persecution of Oxford, the attaïnder of Bolingbroke, the beggary and banishment of Atterbury were not yet forgotten. He did not believe in the inveteracy of Carteret, whose chief study was to conciliate Royal favour, and whose nobler and kindlier nature was more to be relied on than the shuffling plausibilities of Newcastle.

Of Hardwicke he thought better, though he had not forgotten how he slunk from the side of Lord Macclesfield when his patron's position, credit, and fortune, were in jeopardy. Still, with his never-failing shrewdness in striking the balance of temptation, he judged rightly that the two best things for him would be that Hardwicke should remain in the Cabinet, and that Pul-

teneys should be allowed to disappoint the hopes he had raised of impersonating unworldly virtue. His own career in the Commons being ended, it was a consolation to think that he had left 'Pulteney' behind him.

But no attempt was made after all to formulate measures of impeachment, and, had there been, the assent of too many would have been necessary who for various reasons could not have afforded the practical adoption of such a proceeding.

Pulteney was declared Earl of Bath, and Chesterfield affected to lament that he had fallen upstairs; but he retained his seat in the Cabinet, and ere long repented his self-denying ordinance. He had played a great part as Tribune of the Gentry and leader of the untitled aristocracy in Opposition, of whom he was, perhaps, as fine and yet as fair a specimen as was ever seen. Valuing highly the wealth which rendered independence easy, he could not be drawn by the lure of official emolument into public inconsistency, whereby he might have doubled his fortune. Enjoying, as few ever did, the sense of being raised by his own intellect and eloquence above his fellows, he refused repeatedly to ascend halfway the heights of the Executive. Other men had waited and worked long to gain that much-coveted reward—the being called upon in the hour of party triumph to form a Ministry. But each and all of them had either spurned the command when coupled with unworthy conditions, or had taken a secondary place in a new combination. Pulteney did neither. He insisted on showing the world that he had led the way over Jordan, although he did not enter the promised land.

He remained in the Commons during the Session, and strained every nerve to obtain by degrees better terms for his more than half-disappointed party. His tone regarding the Sovereign was sufficiently imperious; and the more so, because he found himself, in consequence of the aversion of George II., shut out from all means of personal influence. He was compelled to act through Carteret when he would persuade, and through the House of Commons when he would command. At the instance of Walpole, the King gave him to understand that as the position he assumed was alike unprecedented and unconstitutional, implying without official responsibility a sort of tribunician power, he ought to put an end to illegitimate suspicions by the acceptance of a peerage. Pulteney instinctively recoiled from the

irrevocable step which everybody but his wife saw clearly would break his enchanter's wand ; and he continued during the Session to urge the promotion of faithful friends and the removal of distrusted adherents. Of the latter none was more persistently desired than that of Hervey, whose bitter wit had left him few friends either amongst new or old courtiers.

He relied on the habitual confidence reposed in him by the King, and the remembrance of the singular regard which had always been shown him by Queen Caroline. All suggestions for his dismissal failed for a considerable time. At length, in the beginning of July, Pulteney declared that, unless Hervey were compelled to make room for Gower as Privy Seal, he should consider all understanding between him and the Court at an end, and that in that case he should certainly decline going to the Lords.

Hervey was told he must give way. In appeasement of his remonstrance, his Majesty offered him a pension out of the Civil List which he at first declined, hinting that his father would make good his official loss ; but eventually he was glad to remind the King of his munificent offer, stipulating only that he should be made a Lord of the Bedchamber, as an ostensible reason for his voting with Government.

Discordant views rendered opposition practically powerless, either to modify Ministerial policy or to exact a participation in office. A malcontent council of nine consisted of Bedford, Chesterfield, Gower, Pitt, Lyttelton, Cobham, Waller, Dodington, and Sir J. Cotton. The latter four had urged the exaction of some legislative concessions before taking office, and they persuaded themselves, if not others, that Pelham had encouraged their ideas of a Place Bill, by which subaltern officers in the Army and Navy might be excluded from Parliament, and collectors of Customs and Excise deprived of their votes. There is no evidence that he ever committed himself to any terms of the kind, and there is no probability that he believed his colleagues would ever consent to them. Waller, indeed, went so far as to ascribe the Place Bill offered by Pelham to his incapacity and pusillanimity, not that he felt any compunction for the public, but merely that he might sit easy in power, and shelter his inability from the force of Waller's experience, Pitt's eloquence, the party strength of Gower and Cotton, the keen and

lively parts of Cobham, and the social arts of Dodington, which, if concentrated in support of a patriotic policy, would have proved a serious danger to the Ministry. The leading members of Opposition saw through the unreality of Treasury professions, and thought they were only losing time by insisting upon terms, letting it be understood, however, that in the grave condition of affairs abroad, they were not averse from a friendly conference with the Triumvirate regarding possible coalition.

Carteret accompanied the King to Hanover, and kept his leading colleagues informed of the progress of affairs abroad, which he painted *en beau*, lamenting "the sinister neutrality of the King of Prussia, and exulting in the indomitable resolution of the Empress-Queen. The new Lord Bath amused himself by resuming his old opposition tone of criticism, expatiating on the attenuated confidence of the public in military combinations that, however well planned, resulted in nothing, and endorsing the prevalent demand that every Frenchman should be driven out of the Empire, and the Dutch drawn into giving their support, or else we had better make peace forthwith, and have done with the burthensome war. He was sorry to remind his Grace of Newcastle that people were not so well satisfied with affairs; every measure in this country was considered wise or injudicious, according to the success attending it, and not according to the prudence or policy with which it was concerted, and people began already to grudge and grumble at the expenses entered on, so that he found that there would be more difficulty to be met in the next Parliament than once he apprehended. Sir J. H. Cotton bragged much that there would be a full attendance the next Session. He had made a progress through the western parts, and had been at Mr. Dodington's to concert matters for opposition. Great claimours were raised against taking the Hanover troops into our pay, which they said would be of no use whilst the Dutch would not co-operate with us. He hoped Carteret's journey as Minister in attendance on the King would be successful, but the motive of it must be something more than he cared at present to mention. Lord Stair would probably be offended with it, and as they had had small differences, possibly this might increase them. If Carteret could engage the Dutch to join heartily with us, or if, by going a little further than the Hague, he could draw the King of Prussia

from his inglorious neutrality, it would be of infinite consequence.¹

Used to the strain and struggle of pilot in stormy seas, the ex-Tribune hardly knew what to do with himself at anchor in the Lords. In the Cabinet only he could make his power of argument and expression felt, and he was already beginning to see how he could be troublesome.

Nothing had struck the French, he thought, so much as our being able without delay or difficulty to raise over six millions at three per cent. for the war, and it might be well without the semblance of boasting to let our allies generally be made aware of the fact. They had all a hankering after English help in the shape of subsidy, and their disposition would be favourably impressed by a reminder betimes how easily we could afford it. Well might Sandys tremble for financial acts he was unable to control.

At a meeting of the Cabinet at Whitehall on the 29th of July, the unanimous advice was given that 16,000 Hanoverians and 6,000 Hessians should be ordered to join the 16,000 British troops already in the field, and advance to the support of the Queen of Hungary.²

Notwithstanding their success in reconstructing the Cabinet, the Pelhams were conscious of their intellectual weakness, and the infirmity of their hold on the humour of the King. They were no match for Carteret and Pulteney in foreign affairs, or for the undisguised continuance of Walpole's influence at Court. Their chief reliance in Administration was on Hardwicke, who seemed inclined occasionally to take things easy and to be pre-occupied with the careful building of his judicial fame, and the expansion of his family importance. The Duke, in one of his intermittent fits of feverish distrust, threw himself at the Chancellor's feet when he was afraid his indispensable friend was likely to leave town. He had observed less activity in business than formerly, which might arise from an inclination to withdraw from the active part of it by degrees, and to confine himself chiefly to his own office. If this were in any measure the case, he must beg of his friend to consider in what situation it would leave him regarding measures started, perhaps in the

¹ From Lord Bath, 20th September, 1742.—MS.

² Carteret MSS.

Closet, and adopted with precipitation by those who were responsible. His brother had all the prudence, knowledge, experience, and good intention that could be wished or hoped for, but it would be difficult for them alone to stem that which, with Hardwicke's weight, authority, and character, would not be twice mentioned. Besides, his brother and he might differ in opinion, in which case he was sure that of their friend would determine both. There had been for many years a unity of thought and action between them, but it would be impossible for him to go on with credit and security to himself, or with advantage to his friends, if the world did not see and understand that the three were one, not in thought only, but in action; not in action barely, but in the first conception or digestion of things. This would give them real weight in the Closet and in the Ministry, but this could be done only by the Chancellor himself. If the writer knew his own heart, it was full of all the love, attention, gratitude, and regard that was possible for one man to have for another.¹

Lord Gower was regarded as one of the leaders of the Tory party in the Upper House, and though of moderate parts, was much esteemed for his public and private virtues. He declined to be tempted by office until July, 1742, when Wilmington persuaded him to take the Privy Seal, on the assurance that substantial reforms were contemplated, the nature of which he felt at liberty to communicate in confidence to his friends, whose chagrin was not disguised. But on Wilmington's death soon after, the promises of improvement were forgotten, and an Earldom was the only consolation Lord Gower had for the loss of influence he had once enjoyed.²

Argyll's impetuosity and vacillation committed him often to contentions and confidences, neither of which he could thoroughly defend, but his death, in October, relieved his Parliamentary associates from further trouble regarding him, and left Chesterfield without a rival in the Upper House as a Leader of Opposition.

Before the end of October, Hardwicke drafted a Speech from the Throne which he sent to the Duke, "not as complete, but as something to work upon by his brother and himself, and not to

¹ To the Chancellor, 3rd August, 1742.

² "Dr. King's Own Times."

'be hurried into the hands of anyone else, much less of the King, prematurely.'¹ What his Majesty was to say must be settled definitely before he was allowed any opportunity of thinking about it. *

During the autumn the outcry was renewed for detection and exposure of the waste of public money by the late Board of Treasury, and the Pitts and Grenvilles sought allies in Waller, Shippen, Sir J. H. Cotton, Lord Strange, Dashwood, and Lyttelton; and the host of many colours who rallied round them never ceased reviling the turpitude of those who, having had the great delinquent in their grasp, had loosed him and let him go. The constituencies were urged to make their members feel they must be stern when Parliament came next to judgment. Horace the younger had his own reasons for straining every nerve to catch the rumbling presages of the storm, and spared no opportunity of prejudicing all he knew with the belief of the malice and injustice of his family's accusers.

Cobham had not been tempted to take office, and on the Address his friends broke out vehemently against the compromise. Pitt spoke, they said, "like ten thousand angels," and Richard Grenville did his part in the controversy. His younger brother James "was likewise all on fire, but could not get a place." The minority divided 150, but counted their strength all told at 200. "It was inconceivable how colloguing and flattering Ministers were to them, notwithstanding their impertinence."² Pitt's speech was not reported.

On the vote for pay of Hanoverian troops to be stationed in Belgium,³ Henry Fox, Surveyor-General of Works, ably defended Carteret's policy. Pitt replied with great spirit, and the memorable duel of twenty years may be said to have begun. Pitt was more open than formerly in satire on the Elector of Hanover, whom he refused to identify with the King of England in fulfilling treaties, paying troops, or providing for their employment. If bound by engagements to support the Queen of Hungary in the field, he should have raised his Hanoverian troops at the cost of Hanover, and sent them to her aid, instead of dispatching them to a place far from danger to

¹ Hardwicke to Newcastle, 18th Oct., 1742.—J.S.

² R. Grenville to his brother, 22nd November, 1742.

³ 10th December, 1742.

eat and sleep ; or, if generosity rather than justice were the impelling motive, the honourable feeling ought not to be gratified at the expense of England, that had no interest in the quarrel.

When, if ever, will the whole truth of this remarkable period of executive rule be written ? Old Horace, writing two years after his brother's fall to the trusted chaplain Etough, wished that well-informed aid could be given to Tindal, who, he heard, was writing a continuation of Rapin, and who was most likely to tell the truth.¹ The Chaplain was, evidently, thought the safest hand through which such communications might be made, as one not likely to be mistaken about facts and motives. And the suggestion marks him as a witness of especial value on the Walpole side of the controversy. He responded as was to have been expected, and urged his old friend and gossip to put together every jot and tittle of contemporary annals tending to vindicate the statesman's claim to honoured recollection.²

Carteret, after twelve years' exclusion from office, found his hands too full of foreign affairs, bygone, actual, and impending, to find time for the interminable details of patronage on which many of his colleagues lived. He could hardly, it was said, be induced to lend serious attention to opportunities for place or promotion ; and when set upon by Newcastle to desist from some inconsiderate promise, or to adopt in preference some ill-bred or ill-looking candidate, legal or clerical, he was apt to yield with a shrug, or say with a laugh, " Pooh ! let it be so." Banter came so naturally to him, and humour was so essentially part of his nature, that if every casual word dropped at table or in Council were to be registered against him in its literal sense, his best friend must have failed to make a grave and coherent story of it. His enemies, while he lived, and captious critics ever since, have stumbled over whims of phrase and *équivoque* of interpretation in a manner of which not a few of his successors at the Foreign Office have been made to feel the discomfort. Chief Justice Willes, who applied to him for an appointment for one of his adherents in the law, bored him probably with the recital of credentials and testimonials, while the Secretary of State, though willing to be civil, felt far away, and at length, out of patience, he broke out with, " What is it to me who is a judge, and who a

¹ From Wolterton, 9th September, 1744. — Etough MS.

² To Birch, 6th August, 1744.

bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." His ideality in contrivance, vigour in the use of means, eloquence of tongue and pen, and undoubting confidence in himself, carried him over all common difficulties for a time; and he counted with reason on the support of Bath, Sandys, Winchilsea, Tweeddale, and Gower. But from the first they were outnumbered by the remains of the old Cabinet, who had held on after Walpole and Wager retired. If Newcastle was not already casting into the deep of intrigue for a new draft, he was busy mending his nets; and while Walpole lived the minority in the Cabinet could never feel secure that his personal influence might not be exerted effectually against them.

Discontent at the employment of Electoral troops in Flanders did not subside, and in the Upper House Lord Stanhope, son of the once popular Minister, but himself inexperienced in affairs, was put forward to move an Address to the Crown, that, considering the burthens of the nation, the foreign mercenaries lately taken into pay should be disbanded. The French were too strong to be kept out of the Low Countries by a group of Hessians and Hanoverians in British pay, and, the constitution of the German Empire forbidding them to take such service, they ought not, in fact, to be so employed. Carteret, from his knowledge of the code of the Empire, which, he said, he had studied as a diplomatist before his critic was in being, undertook to show how greatly he had been misled. For the rest, it was time, he thought for England to cast off the reproach that we feared, in a just cause, to face the power of both branches of the House of Bourbon. The cause of the Empress-Queen was that of the liberty of Europe, and he trusted they would show that in the defence of our rights and interests they did not shrink from the whole power of France. The Duke of Bedford and the ex-Privy Seal supported the motion on the broad ground that Hanover—said to be in danger—was no justifying cause for extended war. Bath, for the first time, addressed the Lords reluctantly; but he could not reconcile it to himself to float down the stream of popularity in silence, or shrink from defending in Parliament what he had approved in Cabinet. The Queen of Hungary, pressed on every side, declared herself unable to support the garrisons of the barrier towns, and must recall her troops to defend her cen-

tral States... Either, then, these strong places must fall again into the hands of the French, and we should be obliged to recover them at the cost of another ten years' war, or we and the Dutch must promptly send a sufficient force to retain them. The duty lay, indeed, pre-eminently on the States-General; but a single province of the Federal Republic might hesitate, or might, perhaps, be tampered with by an artful enemy. Was the common safety to be neglected, therefore; and if it was for their sake, not for our own, we were called upon to act, the excuse would be valid; but the imminence of the common danger admitted not of delay. If, indeed, the Dutch were content to forsake the stand they once occupied as the general watch of the world, let us not give way to the same infatuation; let us not look with neglect on the deluge that rolled towards us till it was too near to be repelled. Let us show mankind that we were neither afraid to stand up alone in defence of justice and of freedom, nor unable to maintain the cause that we had undertaken to assert. On a division ninety Peers rallied to this trumpet-call, and but thirty-five voted for the motion.

Little legislative energy appeared to survive in the diminished ranks of Opposition to realise the promises of organic reform. A Place Bill, indeed, was brought in, as it had so often been before, but it met with scant furtherance, and was speedily laid aside. A serious conflict arose upon a very different theme. Jekyll's Act, which was to have put down excessive drinking by expensive licences and heavy penalties, had not only broken down, but the evils it was meant to check notoriously increased. Low public-houses traded without paying victualler's licences, and the town overflowed with drunkenness and vice of every description. Some change had become absolutely necessary in the provisions of the law, not only for the sake of public morals, but for the sake of the revenue; and, reverting to the forecast of Walpole, who had anticipated the failure of extreme measures, Sandys introduced and carried rapidly through the Lower House a Bill framed in a more temporising spirit, but easier to be enforced by an Executive who had at their command no organised police. In the Upper House too much stress was laid on the recommendation by the First Lord of the Treasury that under the proposed enactment an improved excise would afford means for raising at moderate rates the loans which Government re-

quired for the prosecution of the war? This was taken as a virtual admission of mercenary and immoral motives for the Bill, and warm denunciations followed from Hervey, Lonsdale, Talbot, Sandwich, and Chesterfield. All the Bishops present voted in the minority, but the measure was carried by nearly two to one. The Archbishop and Gower differed from their colleagues, but the rest of the Cabinet held together.

The taking of the Hanover troops into pay by the new Ministers, notwithstanding all they had said when out of place, confounded simple-minded followers throughout the country. In the outcry against Walpole, measures, it was said, would be changed with men; and when it grew clear that the old policy was not only taken over, but justified as necessary and on principle, simple-minded men woke as from a fleeting dream. Even personal obligations and attachments were forgotten in the first flush of disappointment. A Whig prelate owned in confidence to a friend that though he had come up late in the Session, he felt he had come too soon; finding some points so doubtful that he did not know how to vote at all, and others so clear that he was grieved to be under the necessity of voting against friends of whom when out of place he had a good opinion. There was indeed "a necessity for doing something to prevent the drinking of that poison called gin; but unhappily the increasing of the vice was found to be a way to increase the revenue; and this was the fund chosen on which to borrow the millions wanted."

George II. had been too long used to rely on his old Ministers easily to reconcile himself to the want of their advice. He still sought their counsel, but furtively, and as though he feared to give umbrage to those whom he had been compelled to accept instead. Through Cholmondeley, he asked Walpole's opinion on several occasions; Colonel Selwyn, who had been Treasurer to the Queen, and Dr. Ranby, Physician to the Household, likewise lent their aid when required. It was difficult for them to perform this service without being observed, and resort was had to an expedient of a novel kind. Mr. Fowle, who had married the niece of Walpole; and who had been made by him a Commissioner of Excise, lived in Golden Square. The ex-Minister spent many evenings there; and often as late as midnight, when the servants had been on various pretexts sent out of the way, and the family had retired, the street door was opened by Fowle himself; a

sedan-chair, admitted into the hall, and a little man came out who went upstairs and remained in the drawing-room for some time. It was Livry, the King's favourite page, who was thus employed to learn secretly Lord Orford's sentiments and views. To the man who for fifteen years had exercised supreme control over the highest and lowest in the land, it was no doubt a source of pleasure and pride to think that his counsel, after all, was thus anxiously sought.

George II. was impatient to put himself at the head of his troops, Carteret having filled him with confidence that the martial hopes of his youth were at length about to be realised. He himself tarried by the way at the Hague, in order to ratify the agreement he had successfully made for an alliance, offensive and defensive, against France. The hesitation of the Dutch, which had outlasted Walpole's irresolution, was removed by a Convention with Prussia in November, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Russia in the following month. Their reviving courage was still more strengthened by the recent votes in Parliament of men and money. When George II., accompanied by Carteret, reached the army under the command of Lord Stair, they were encamped between Mount Spessart and the Main, greatly in want of provisions, and preparing to fall back, expecting to be reinforced from Hanover. They were considerably outnumbered by the army under Noailles, who on the first symptom of their movement detached his nephew, the Duc de Grammont, with a corps of 23,000 men to cut off their retreat through the defile of Dettingen, while he himself pressed with the main body of his forces on their rear. From this critical position they were relieved by the rashness of the youthful officer in command of their foes, who, without orders, provoked a conflict with the English advancing column, led in person by the King. A conflict of several hours ended in complete victory, and George II. became the hero of the day.

Carteret, who had been on the ground all day, describes the action with the coolness and clearness of a soldier. He gives the King full credit for personal courage and judicious direction of the troops under his command. Prince William and other officers of distinction were wounded.¹ George II. and his Minister sought to turn the victory to account in hastening

¹ To Newcastle, 20th June, 1743.—MS.

negotiations for peace. The labour these entailed lasted from seven in the morning till nine at night, but the *eclat* gained afforded an opportunity that could not otherwise have been had, and no pains must be spared in putting it to good use.

Uplifted from the melancholy of his situation by an event so signal and sudden, the deposed Minister offered an unsinted measure of sympathy and commendation to his successor. "I am very much obliged for the early account you gave me of this great and important news from the army. I do not remember any event that ever more sensibly transported me, and the more I think of the happy consequences that must attend this success and the great advantages that may be drawn from it, which I make no doubt will be properly applied, I cannot enough rejoice, at least cannot enough express the infinite satisfaction which the fate of this great and glorious day has filled my heart. . . . Let it at present suffice to rejoice with the King for the glorious part he has had in this first essay, to rejoice with my country at this check which is given to the ambitious views and enterprises of France, and rejoice with the King's servants at the great turn which is given in support of the measures of the Government, and which, if not interrupted by any cross and unhappy accident, must make opposition fall before them. There is nothing that I can contribute towards this desirable end that shall not be most readily exerted with all the zeal and sincerity which can be expected from me."¹

It reads as if he had not read it over before impressing the wax with his new coronet; but who would jar its true ring of earnestness to mend the blemishes of style that rather add to its value?

King George was advised to be content with what had been done at Dettingen, and the army fell back to the frontier of Hanover. The English regiments, with their German auxiliaries under d'Aremberg, were suffered to take rest in Flanders, and Prince Charles, having cantoned his troops in Suabia and Bavaria, betook himself to Vienna for his nuptials with the sister of Maria Theresa. How many of the English Cabinet indulged in half-stifled satisfaction, that the showy march of triumph had thus come to an end for the year, and looked

¹ Oxford to Newcastle, 25th June, 1743.—*M.S.*

forward enviously to the nearer return of the colleague who had invented alliances and organised victory.

Carteret floated on the top of the tide, and for the moment he looked irresistible; but he must be resisted, and his power gnawed away if it could not be suddenly broken. The perplexed condition in which Imperial interests had been left had led the Emperor to make overtures to England for a separate accommodation, and George II., for the sake of Hanover, was not unwilling to come to terms with the Federal Head of the Empire. The Pelhams demurred to any deviation from the letter of our engagements with the Queen of Hungary, and Newcastle, with seeming frankness—writing to Carteret “as freely as he would have talked to him at Stone’s”—dilated on the dangerous complications that would arise should we become peace-makers among the Powers of Germany, and be left alone to contend with France and Spain. But Carteret, conscious of the weakness of the position, and knowing the undercurrent of Hanoverianism that rendered unstable the Royal boast in unexpected success in arms, believed he could render no better service to his own country, or to Germany, than to facilitate an accommodation of differences between the Powers of the Empire without the humiliation or, what he feared still more, the mutilation of any of them; and while negotiating preliminaries for the treaty soon afterwards concluded at Worms, he endeavoured to bring his colleagues in London to revert to the views imperfectly developed some time before for the pacification of central Europe, even though the Maritime States might still remain in conflict. The Emperor held back, insisting upon reparation for his losses and territorial concessions that to his allies seemed too humiliating. The position was in every way critical, and they well knew what party advantage would be taken at home of any seeming error committed at a distance in diplomacy. A private letter from Carteret defined more accurately than dissertation could the nicety of the relations subsisting between King and Cabinet. “His Majesty thinks the gaining of the Emperor, or even keeping him in suspense, of such importance that, though he will make no stipulations without the combined sense of his servants, nor engage absolutely to pay three hundred thousand crowns; yet he thinks it proper that the affair should not, in this great crisis, fall at once to

pieces ; and therefore thinks it proper to hazard one hundred thousand crowns under the head of secret service for the Emperor, for which a warrant is signed according to the form which Mr. Pelham and I agreed upon. If the Emperor accept it, we may insensibly carry him into all our measures ; then, as more money will be stipulated for publicly, this warrant may be taken up and brought to public account, and if he does not accept it, it shall be cancelled and never heard of. I confess to you that I think everything is in our hands, both as to honour and security, if we can but know how to make a good use of it."¹

In reply, the Duke wrote that the Chancellor, the Lord President, his brother, and he himself strongly deprecated any engagement to support the Emperor with subsidies to which they believed the Queen of Hungary was in no condition to contribute, and which a communication in cypher from Paris convinced them that the Court of Versailles would counterbid. Parliament could not be expected to incur such an obligation. They therefore advised his Majesty to discourage any hopes of the kind.² On receipt of this communication, the Secretary anxiously disclaimed any idea of permanently subsidising the Emperor, but he again urged his colleagues to consider whether it might not be worth while to purchase his formal repudiation of the French alliance by granting three hundred thousand crowns for his immediate needs. The allies were preparing to pursue their retreating adversaries across the frontier stream. Eventually the Emperor refused the offer, and the project came to nought.

A despatch announcing the victory of Dettingen, and another rendering the result without any account of the negotiations with the Emperor and Prince Charles, were all that the self-reliant Secretary had sent from Hanover. His excuse was that he feared his messengers might fall into the hands of the enemy, on which his colleague observed that he had with him a cypher had he chosen to use it, which it was next to impossible they could read. Carteret's reticence came of no fear of free-booting. But for his daring, and, it must be owned, patriotic council, George II. might not have risked his crown and life in

¹ To Newcastle, 5th July, 1743.—MS.

² Newcastle to Carteret, 15th July, 1743.—MS.

battle, and thereby won for his house in the minds of his people a title to rule they could better understand than his hereditary reversion. The fearless and far-sighted proposal by which Carteret endeavoured to separate Austria from France was a stroke of genius which he well knew his pottering colleagues in London, had they been consulted beforehand, would never have allowed him to play ; and of personal consequences on the morrow of two such triumphs he thought he could afford to be reckless. But the feline jealousy of Newcastle was stirred, and the constitutional caution of Hardwicke naturally shrank from sanctioning a precedent so full of danger ; while Henry Pelham, whose personal position was more dependent on retention of office than that of either, viewed with misgiving the bold assertion of the isolated Minister to ascendancy in the Cabinet. The Duke was therefore allowed to send a remonstrance to their tantalising colleague in their joint names. It expressed much concern at their being often so long without any accounts from his Majesty and his army. It was thought the greatest slight and disregard to those who had the honour to be in the King's service at home, and who he intended should be in his confidence. The accounts, when they did come, were usually short, from whence no judgment could be made, either as to the situation and condition of the army or the enemy ; or any confidential communication as to what were the King's real intentions; or what were apprehended to be the views and designs of the Duc de Noailles. They had hitherto been very cautious in suggesting any opinion at this critical time, and would be more so from the little notice taken of the few they had made. The Emperor's declaration that he would act no longer against the Queen of Hungary was thought to be in consequence of a negotiation with the English Court, of which they were ignorant. "A good peace, to be sure, was, and ought to be, their sole view, and the sooner it could be procured the better. But unless the affair of Dunkirk was absolutely terminated to their satisfaction, peace with Spain and with Italy, made upon advantageous terms, and France tied up in the strongest manner not to give any assistance to Spain, it would not be thought a good peace ; and they were not sure that the restoration of Lorraine might not be expected."¹

¹ Newcastle Papers, 1743.—MS.

The English army crossed the Rhine at Mayence, and took up their quarters at Worms. Distracted councils paralysed their further movement, and Lord Stair, out of patience at being continually thwarted by German generals, in a memorial full of complaint, asked permission to retire to his plough. George II. was angry at his tone, and what he deemed his desertion at a critical juncture, and granted his request. The Duke of Marlborough, who was second in command,[•] did likewise, and other officers, declaring themselves humbled by the partialities shown to Hanoverians, followed the example. The campaign terminated by the withdrawal of the army to its former position in Flanders, and the return of the King to England, after signing a Treaty of Peace at Worms.

On the death of Lord Wilmington an inter-ministerium of several weeks succeeded, during which the friends of Bath would fain have had him chosen to fill the vacant place ; Carteret himself undertaking so to advise the King. But Walpole from his retirement recommended Pelham ; and to the astonishment of all but a few he became head of the Treasury. Can anyone believe that in the zenith of triumph Carteret would have acquiesced in so secondary a colleague being put over his head if the first place in the Financial Department implied, as some have supposed, the dignity and precedence of Prime Minister ? He frankly explained to the fortunate First Lord how he had acted in the affair.¹ “ I told his Majesty that you had acted very fairly and kindly by me, for which I thought myself obliged to you. If I had not stood by Lord Bath, who could ever value my friendship ? and you must have despised me. However, as the affair is decided in your favour, I wish you joy of it, and I will endeavour to support you as much as I can. I have no jealousies of you and your brother ; but if you will have jealousies of me without foundation, it will disgust me to such a degree that I shall not be able to bear it, and as I mean to cement a union with you, I speak thus plainly. His Majesty certainly makes a very great figure, and the reputation of the country is at its highest pitch, and it would be a deplorable fatality if disputes at home should spoil the great work.” Trying to bridge over his past differences on foreign policy with Newcastle, he wrote him by the same post a reply to all his recent questions ; and, as

¹ From Mentz, 16th Aug., 1743.

if to rally him out of his captious pragmatism, he added, “I desire the Stone Club shall read this.” The Duke bid Scrope carry the warrant for the new Commission of Treasury through forthwith; but it instantly occurred to him that “Sandys might resign, and there might not be a Board, except Gibbon and Compton remained,” if Rushout with Sandys quitted.¹ Newcastle pretended even to Hardwicke that he was surprised at his brother’s promotion, though he could not expect that astutest of men not to see, what to everybody else on reflection was palpable, that the choice was a reassertion of the predominance in the Cabinet of the territorial connection without whom the Administration could not subsist. The disappointment of Bath was only equalled by the mortification of Sandys, who would cheerfully have filled the second chair at the Board, his old friend and leader taking the first; but who could not brook the Paymaster of the Forces being put over his head. He asked, accordingly, permission to retire with a peerage. Pelham thereupon was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as First Lord, and Winnington was appointed Paymaster-General without a seat in the Cabinet. Sir T. Winnington was said by an unfriendly critic to have more wit than any man he ever knew, though his facility in repartee shone more in private than in public life. Bred a Tory, he attorned to Walpole when at the height of his power, and was made Lord of the Admiralty in 1733, and of the Treasury in 1736; but when his patron’s star declined he was thought to waver in his fidelity.

Sir W. Yonge, having served eight years as Secretary at War, hoped he would not be forgotten in the day of promotions. “He hated soliciting, and wished to avoid complaining, but he felt, not without reason, that he had done his part efficiently and faithfully.”² In debate he was thought by his contemporaries to have few equals, and Pulteney had often given him unstinted praise.

Even now, when his name has nearly faded out of recollection, the reports of his speeches are very good reading. He was tired of secondary rank in office, but he was a poor man, had married a plebeian wife, and had no rotten boroughs. How could he expect a seat in the Cabinet?

¹ To Hardwicke, 23rd Aug., 1743.

² To Newcastle, 5th July, 1743.—MS.

Each of the Ministerial sections was numerically lessened by one ; but the proportion borne by the minority was obviously rendered still weaker. The fear of Carteret's influence, far from being appeased by the possession of three great offices by the Pelhams, showed itself more irritable every day in consultation upon measures of detail and questions of patronage. The Chancellor vainly strove to smoothe over affronts, to adjourn points in dispute, and to prevail upon his ducal friend to restrain exuberant petulance, at least in Council. The arbitrament of Orford seemed at one time to be the easiest and best resource to avert an actual schism. His early attendance in town for the benefit of his advice on matters of grave exigency was requested confidentially in letters from Cholmondeley.

Orford had been keeping carnival at Houghton. Every autumn he had for many years surrounded himself with a strange medley of guests, high-born and ill-bred, profligate and pharisaical, faded leaders of fashion who had younger sons to provide for, and bold beauties of rank, in whose loud laughter he never ceased to take delight.

Even in earlier days, Townshend used to get away from Rainham in September rather than mingle with the noisy and discordant throng. Later on we find Pelham, not daring to refuse invitation, muttering between his teeth confidentially to his brother his regret at the company he found there. But Orford was himself to the end insensible and incorrigible. He wrote to say he was still suffering so much from a fall downstairs after dinner—the consequence, he supposed, of dining out with Tories,—that he was quite unable to undertake an ordinary journey to town ; nothing serious had happened ; but if he could be of any use later on he was always ready to attend his Majesty. Meanwhile, he hoped that nothing he could add to the counsels of his present Ministers could be of any importance.

Dwelling apart, he was gratified by continually being consulted by Henry Pelham, who avowed himself to be his Administrative disciple. The defection of Stair, and the evidently widening estrangement of Pulteney and Carteret, led him to suggest the possibility of what he called taking in the Cobham party, for whom, hitherto, room had not been made. It seemed, however, to be fraught with the old difficulty of all coalitions, that any increase of the coveted ingredient would inevitably re-

quire a counter addition of the opposite material; and the Pelhams could not see their way to either without the other. Incompatibility of prejudice or opinions was not thought worth mentioning, the only matter of consideration was of which sort of timber the new wheels should be made to replace those likely to break down. The Duke does not appear to have contemplated an open breach with Carteret, if "on his return his behaviour should make it practicable for them to go on with him"; but it was otherwise with respect to the Privy Seal. His Lordship was accordingly allowed to go to Bath without any premonitory hint that the Seal might be wanted for somebody else by Christmas. In private society during the autumn, Pitt, disappointed and impatient, sneered at Carteret as the new sole Minister responsible for bad measures. Winnington fairly reminded him that if there were a sole Minister, few had helped more to make him than the person who now assailed him. The Duke of Marlborough, finding "old Sarah" implacable against all who had parted among them only to put on the garments of Walpole, suddenly resigned everything to reinstate himself in her will. Her comment was eminently characteristic: "It is very natural; he listed as soldiers do when they are drunk, and repented when he was sober." Gower, dissatisfied with the small share Tories had in the Administration, soon afterwards resigned; and the Privy Seal was given to Cholmondeley.

Carteret looked anxiously to making preparations for the next campaign. Knowing the tardiness of the States-General, he visited the Hague towards the end of November. Fagel describes with great *naïveté* their frank and friendly colloquies, wherein he made the most of his country's inability, by reason of its federal jealousies, and the want of money owing to the prolongation of the war. The Secretary was emphatic on the need of making an early show of combined vigour in order to bring France to terms, for, as before, his paramount desire was peace.¹

It was natural that Orford should exult in the success of his intervention in the choice of his successor in the Treasury. "I most sincerely rejoice with you at this first event. It puts you in possession, and gives you time to turn yourself, and the defeat of Lord Bath is more decisive against him than a battle of Dettingen. You have taken post, and will be able to maintain

it ; for, whether your colleagues go on awkwardly, or do not go on at all, either behaviour will, upon the King's return, give you both pretence and power to fix the scheme upon your own model. •But surely for you it is rather to be wished that they will hold on. It will avoid your contending for new alterations absent from the King, when every occasion will give your *dear friend*¹ an opportunity of crossing or delaying your purposes. It is too certain what advantage presence has against absence with *somebody*. The boobies must be managed. The worst that could happen to you is for two months to bear the disagreeable part borne by Lord Wilmington, with a majority of the Board against you. Gibbon and Compton, I should think, may be made reasonable when they see you there ; the other two are not worth having, or they must be bought at too dear a rate, considering what a bargain you have to make with other people who will not come cheap. Write to the King, full of duty and acknowledgment ; without reserve, approve what he has done for the present, because he has done it. You will treat the great man abroad, too, in his own way ; give him as good as he brings, and desire him, as an earnest of that *cordial affection* which he bears to you and your brother, and as a proof that he *will endeavour to support you as much as he can*, to prevent any changes or engagements to be made in the province where you now preside detrimental or disagreeable to you and your interests. Bath, in his disappointment, may write over to protect his creatures in their present possessions, and encourage them to hold together. If they would purchase their peace of you, it will be false and deceitful. Your strength must be formed of your own friends, the old corps, and recruits from the Cobham squadron, who should be persuaded, now Bath is beaten, it makes room for them, if they will not crowd the door when the house is on fire and nobody can get in or out. •Pitt is thought able and formidable. Try him or show him. Fox you cannot do without. Winnington must be had in the way that he can or will be had. Your Solicitor² is your own, and surely will be useful. Hold up the Attorney General,³ he is very able and very honest. It is your business now to forgive and gain. Broad bottom cannot be made for anything that has a zest of Hanover. Whig it with all opponents that will parley, but 'ware Tory. I never mean to a

•¹ Lord Carteret.•² Murray.•³ Sir Dudley Ryder.

person or so ; but what they can bring with them will prove a broken reed. Dear Harry, I am very personal and very free, and put myself in your power."¹

The changes in the Cabinet, wisely improved, opened to Hardwicke's ruminating mind the prospect of firmer and more lasting power. He gave himself up to the Pelhams, in constant and unreserved consultation, and believed that with them power might be permanently secured. Did he know how far the health of their Lord Protector at Houghton was sinking ? Or was the knowledge the unconfessed reason why he said nothing about him in writing to Newcastle ? Not a word either of the five ducal cyphers in Cabinet, whose adhesion gave the complete preponderance therein. It seems as though, aware of the yearning of Newcastle for the inclusion of Tories in the Administration, he was not disposed to encourage that sentiment over-much. Pelham had no doubt been sent to Houghton in July to break the design of what was called a broad-bottomed Ministry ; and it is evident, from Walpole's letter already given, that he had wholly failed to shake the ineradicable distrust of his host in everybody and everything that was not Whig. But Hardwicke, who had the faculty of looking intimates through and through, was cautious not to weaken his own influence at Claremont by the expression of any opinion that would be unwelcome : and he required no reminding that what was so to-day might be just the reverse to-morrow. Throughout the whole of the Chancellor's correspondence of twenty years, nothing is more notable than his astute abstention from giving an opinion unnecessarily soon on any question. Again and again we have Newcastle complaining, like a neglected old maid, of his *réserve* ; but he was not to be moved thereby into anything more than a double dose of sedatives, sweetened *ad nauseam* with confections of respect and regard. The Pelhams went on their way during the autumn and winter, holding out hopes and lures to individual malcontents of both sections of Opposition : but unable or afraid to go very far in realising schemes of fusion. Orford was content to tell the man at the helm how to steer, without any longer touching the tiller himself. He wished, if possible, that even his hints should be unknown. "The secrecy of correspondence with Houghton will become every day more necessary.

¹ From Houghton, 25th August, 1743.

For your sake and for mine, it must not be known that I enter at all into your affairs. Bath, from the moment he was disappointed, turned his eyes upon me. He thinks he shall be stronger upon stirring old questions and re-uniting numbers personally against me than in any other light. He will try to fling my weight into your scale in order to sink it. I write not out of any apprehensions ; but my indiscretion will be thought very great if it should be known that I begin to provoke valour."¹ Late in October, the King being still abroad, Orford repeated his adjurations that Pelham should not mistake Carteret's friendly tone as indicating more than his wish to keep things quiet for the time. "I cannot conceive what measure this old adventurer forms to himself to secure success. To stick at nothing to gain the King, to indulge him in all his unhappy foibles, and not to see his way through a labyrinth of expectations which he must have raised, deserves no better title than infatuation. He suffers not the King to doubt, but promises him success in all his undertakings. He gains him by giving in to all his foreign views, and you show the King that what is reasonable and practicable can only be obtained by the Whigs, and can never be hoped for by any assistance from the Tories. He promises and you must perform. A dissolution in the midst of war might give Carteret and his friends a majority ; but its spirit would be Tory, and hostile to the German policy of the King."² Newcastle's jealousy of Carteret's personal influence had eaten up his recent zeal for maintaining the Hanover troops, and he actually proposed to the Chancellor, without confiding the change to his brother, that they should deprecate a Vote in Supply for the unpopular corps. A majority of the Cabinet were ready to agree to this change of front, and it would probably have been resolved on but for Orford's interference for the last time. He vehemently took the opposite side in secret council. Pelham made himself acceptable at Court, arranged that Sandys should have his peerage, with the Cofferership of the Household ; and that he himself should have his place *in commendam* with the first seat at the Board. Sir John Rushout was promoted to the Treasurership of the Navy, and the Duke of Dorset was gratified by his eldest son being made

¹ To Pelham from Houghton, 18th Sept., 1743.

² To Pelham, 20th October, 1743.

a Junior Lord, with Henry Fox for his colleague, at the Treasury.

A new source of weakness begins to be traceable where it might have least been expected. The dry rot of egotism had reached even to the core of fraternal friendship ; and the Duke, jealous of Henry Pelham's personal popularity at Court and in the Commons, complained to the Chancellor that his brother took too much upon him.¹ "There is one thing I would mention to you, relating to myself, which must be touched tenderly, if at all. My brother has been long taught to think, by Lord Orford, that he is the only person fit to succeed him, and that has a credit with the King upon that foot ; and this leads him into Lord Orford's old method of using the first person upon all occasions. This is not mere form, for I do apprehend that my brother does think that his superior interest in the Closet, and situation in the House of Commons, give him great advantages over everyone else. They are indeed great advantages, but they may be counterbalanced, especially if it is considered over whom these advantages are given."²

They differed in consultation about the Hanoverian troops which Carteret had promised the King and the new head of the Treasury was willing to risk a vote in Parliament to secure, but which the Duke condemned as certain to be unpopular with the army and the public at large. When Parliament reassembled, discord in the Cabinet was freely talked of at Court and elsewhere. Gower and Sandwich pressed Bedford to come to town that they might confer with their leading friends on the course it would be best to pursue. "The old and the new sections of the Ministry were upon such bad terms that there was great probability of a rupture between them, and if that happened probably one side or other must apply to Opposition for support, which would draw on a negotiation, and the fate of the nation might be decided before Parliament met."³ The crisis was, however, deferred, though Carteret took little pains to strengthen himself or the King to conciliate the goodwill of his rivals. "All was distraction ; no union in the Court ; no certainty about the House of Commons."³ It was resolved to move in both Houses

¹ To Hardwicke, 7th November, 1743, marked "Most secret."—MS.

² Gower to Duke of Bedford, 21st Nov., 1743.

³ H. Walpole's Letters, Vol. I., 314.

for disbanding the Hanoverian regiments. It had indeed been expected that the general satisfaction at the course of events abroad would be placed on record with unanimity in Addresses to the Throne. The unpolitical masses of the people were agreed in being glad that they had a King who would fight on foot, and who could win a battle from their natural enemies, as they were taught to call the French ; and that if his eldest son was not all they could wish, his younger son had a taste for fighting, and when wounded would not quit the field till the day was done.

They were told, moreover, that foreign Powers began once more to side with us as they used to do, and that on the whole England was regarded as better able of late to hold her own. The logic of popular felicitations might be open to endless argument as that of the best-bred politicians, but of its prevalence at the close of 1743 there could be little doubt ; and of the imprudence of flouting or neglecting it there could be as little on the part of Members representing large constituencies or dependent on popular favour. It seemed strange, therefore, that the Member for Old Sarum should undertake not only to criticise disparagingly the military and diplomatic proceedings of the Government, but in the tone and attitude of one having authority to pronounce against it the protest of Opposition. Men could not forget how brief a space had elapsed since the deafening cry had been against a too peaceful Minister ; and for a change of hands that would insure a spirited foreign policy, nor could they forget who were the ringleaders in revolt against national humiliation. Yet now they were told by him who assumed the right to speak in the people's name that they must expect no change for the better in their affairs. "Our former Minister betrayed the interest of his country by his pusillanimity ; our present Minister sacrifices it by his Quixotism. Our former Minister was for negotiating with all the world ; our present is for fighting against all. Our former Minister was for agreeing to every treaty, though never so dishonourable ; our present will give ear to no treaty, though never so reasonable. Thus both appear to be extravagant, but with this difference, that by the extravagance of our present, the nation will be put to a much greater charge than ever it was by the pusillanimity of our former."¹ Without scruple or apology, misgiving or qualifica-

¹ Pitt in Debate, 1st Dec., 1743, Address. Almon, I., 125.

tion, he proceeded to treat with scorn every diplomatic act, and with ridicule every sacrifice of life and treasure which Carteret and Bath, Winchilsea and Sandys had sanctioned ; and oracularly to say how each step ought to have been taken and each peril avoided. An entire want of sympathy with the feelings and predilections, sentiments and passions of the public at large, and the weaknesses, interests, and prejudices of those to whom he spoke, singularly contrasted with the tact and versatility that had made Stanhope and Wyndham, and Pulteney and Walpole masters of debate. From being at first suspected, it grew evident to the discerning ere it was done that he was attempting to commit his party without previous consultation to a new line of policy ; and he believed in his individual power of splendid eloquence and intrepid assertion to overbear all resistance or hesitation. Ending as he began, he exclaimed, "It is a new doctrine to pretend that we ought in our Address to return a favourable answer to everything mentioned in his Majesty's Speech. It is a doctrine that has prevailed only since our Parliament began to be as acquiescent as a French Parliament. If we put a negative upon this Address, it may awaken Ministers out of their deceitful dream. If they stop now the nation may recover ; but if by such a flattering Address we encourage them to go on, it may soon become impossible for them to retreat ; and therefore for the sake of Europe and my country I shall most heartily join in putting a negative upon it."¹ Winnington and Henry Fox replied to him ; Lyttelton and Cotton feebly maintained his argument, and 278 to 149 voted the Address. It was carried without amendment. In the Lords Bedford denounced exchange of troops as hateful in the nation's sight ; and Chesterfield was yet more unmeasured in philippic, and unscrupulous in his choice of topics. Deceptive muster-rolls, disposition to plunder their English comrades, desire to prolong the war for the sake of pay, and to leave the brunt to be borne by others ; supposed enjoyment of invidious favour, and failure to earn by length of service the character of veterans, had contributed to breed such enmity between them and our fellow-countrymen in the camp that collisions were constant, and a speedy and successful end of the war was hopeless. Popular impatience had come to such a pass, he said, that the growth of

¹ Pitt in Debate, 1st Dec., 1743, Address. Almon, I., 125.

disaffection might be actually feared ; but the Peers would not be moved by a coxcomb, however fluent and scholarly, wh^o they did not believe altogether believed his own story. The King was supposed to be dissatisfied with Carteret " because he had not communicated several affairs he was acquainted with, and which he ought to have done."¹ A sanguine temper prevailed and was encouraged by most of those in office as to the ease with which the strength of France might be reduced and her projects baffled. Carteret and Fagel viewed matters very differently ; and if the former was more outspoken in Court and Cabinet, it accounts for his loss of popularity in both. The French Army crossed the Rhine in mid-winter, and at Versailles great activity was observable for the next campaign. On the last day of the year the sagacious head of the Dutch Executive wrote: "According to my opinion it is not good that in England they are so much taken up with Party business and ordering things at home that little care is taken as yet to provide for what is necessary in order to be ready early against the ensuing campaign. It gives me great grief that I see also that they have let precious time slip, while all advices from France say that with the greatest eagerness they are putting themselves in a condition to act with vigour in the spring." He owned that the States were still unmoved if not irresolute, and augured ill for the result.²

¹ M. Hop to Fagel, 3rd Dec., 1743.—MS.

² Fagel to Hop, 31st Dec., 1743.—MS.

CHAPTER II.

THE PELHAMS.

1744.

Pelham's Finance—Fraternal Jealousy—Resolved to get rid of Carteret—Fear of a Highland Revolt—Enforcement of Penal Laws—France Declares War—Carteret, Driven to Resign, Retains his Influence—His Policy Readopted—Chesterfield Viceroy—Eight Dukes in the Cabinet—Concession of Minor Offices—"In England, Ministers are the King"—Fontenoy.

GEORGE II. wished to retain his sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, which Carteret engaged should be done. The Pelhams, scared by the denunciations of Chesterfield and Pitt, who made the employment of German troops a subject of their most brilliant attacks in Parliament, would fain have given them up. But the Foreign Minister, with Orford's help, made good his promise to the King, and got decisive majorities in both Houses on the question. The strength of the Pelham Party in the Cabinet, however, was shown as often as they assembled at the Cockpit. The Chancellor refused to put the Seal to a Convention with the King of Sardinia explanatory of the Treaty of Worms, which bound England to a payment of £200,000 a year for an indefinite time, and when Carteret averred the King might affix it himself, various alterations proposed by the Pelhams were carried by a majority of five. Hardwicke, Harrington, Newcastle, Dorset, Richmond, Montagu, Argyll,¹ Grafton, and Pelham were for the alterations, Carteret, Winchilsea, Tweeddale, and Bolton against.

To provide the interest on a new loan for the war, Pelham proposed, in Ways and Means, to put a further duty of 2s. 6d. a cwt. on sugar. Sir John Barnard led a combination of in-

¹ Late Islay.

terests against it ; and men of various shades of opinion contributed objections and arguments to prove that besides being an additional burthen on the consumer, it would ensure the already apprehended transfer of production from our own to the Dutch colonies. If extra funds were really wanted, Lord Limerick asked, why not put a penny a yard on linens brought from abroad ? a proposal which warmed the hearts of all who were connected with Irish and Scotch industry. The First Lord of the Treasury argued that this would defeat the Commercial Treaty negotiating with Austria, whereof one of the preliminaries engaged that no further import duties should be imposed on the products of the Empire. It was contended that our merchants had rather incur the risk of retaliation to an equal amount on our fabrics than that one of the few comforts of life should be turned into a luxury unenjoyable by the people. Why not apply the surplus revenue already arising from the Gin Tax, or borrow once more from that never-failing friend in need, the Sinking Fund ? Divisions ran close, and Government was at last beaten on the recommittal of their Bill. Sugars and molasses for the time escaped ; the Cabinet were too far pledged to risk the Commercial Treaty with Austria by an additional charge on linen, and the First Lord of the Treasury was obliged to come down with a reluctant admission that he hoped to make both ends meet by reliance on some of the other means proposed.

Careful in observing the temper of the House, and sedulous in endeavouring to adapt the harness of taxation to the galled jade of popular toil, Pelham prepared to follow up the increased duty on gin by an augmentation on foreign wine, the bulk of which was still imported from France. To tax the indulgence of the working man without proportionately taxing that of the rich, would sooner or later stir up fresh and formidable complaint. In his next Budget, therefore, he proposed to lay an additional impost of £8 a tun on foreign wine and £4 a tun on foreign vinegar, in order to provide for the payment of interest on further loans for support of the war ; and no party, however disposed to find fault, cavilled at this mode of replenishing the military chest.

More than one circumstantial account had reached the Foreign Office of Prince Charles Edward having quitted Rome in disguise, to hunt, as some reported ; and, as others said, to take command of the Irish Legion in King Louis's service, hoping thereby

to draw fresh recruits to its standard from home. The knowledge of his departure was concealed from his father and from the Pope until after he was gone, and the rumour seems to have gained credence that his destination in reality was Scotland, where he hoped to rally sufficient adherents to challenge the possession of his regal heritage. All knowledge or even belief in the design would, of course, be disclaimed at Versailles ; but on the convoy of the French fleet, then lying at Brest, the hopes of the adventure confessedly turned. If the other maritime Powers were upon their guard no need existed for any apprehension, as the squadron there was ill-prepared for sea ; and France was not likely to devote sufficient means to render it formidable.¹

At the beginning of February came tidings that the squadron from Brest had passed the Scilly Isles, and was sighted midway in the Irish Channel. The news spread no little alarm at Whitehall. Some uneasiness was felt as to the temper of the army. Lord A. Hamilton and other officers were looked on by the Whigs as untrustworthy, and the Master of the Horse reminded the Secretary of State that half the forces in Ireland were Catholics,² yet no sign of disaffection was manifested there ; and when the stability of the Government was really threatened in the following year Ireland did not stir.

But it was thought useful, from a party point of view, to affect, in the spring of 1744, distrust of the loyalty of the Catholics in both kingdoms ; and the provisions of the Abjuration Act, enabling magistrates to call upon all persons of the suspected creed to take the oaths of abjuration and allegiance under pain of fine or imprisonment, were suddenly put in operation. The Duke of Norfolk expostulated earnestly with the Secretary of State against the hardship of the proceeding.

"The tranquillity the Roman Catholics had ever enjoyed under his Majesty flattered them that they might still continue under the same gracious influence, unless interrupted by their own indiscreet behaviour." The tendering of the oaths at York had caused the greatest apprehension, and it was increased by the orders which were sent down to the Justices in Norfolk to do the same. This naturally put him upon having recourse to Newcastle's good offices to obtain his Majesty's favour and protec-

¹ Secret intelligence to M. de Wasner, 25th January, 1744.—MS.

² Richmond to Newcastle, 3rd February, 1744.—MS.

tion. The request by no means implied any desire for exemption from giving such security for personal behaviour as might be thought necessary by the Government.¹

Still vague rumours of sedition were heard now and then. As Custos Rotulorum of Notts, the Secretary of State had called on the Deputy-Lieutenants and the Justices of the county to assemble and take counsel, who, finding nothing better to do for their defence, asked for a warrant to search the Duke of Norfolk's house, which, they were told, was not necessary. Thus the whole country was kept simmering, to the no small amusement of the disloyal few, as they proved to be eventually; but who, no doubt, duly reported the bustle of administrative misgiving to their friends in France, and thereby helped to foster the belief in the practicability of a revolution, which led to trouble in the following year. At St. James's it all tended to create a belief that never had King such vigilant guardians of the throne. Instructions were sent to the Lords Justices of Ireland to issue a Proclamation closing all places of Catholic worship. The names of Archbishop Hoadly, who professed to know better on religious feeling, and of Speaker Boyle, who certainly knew better on political grounds, were, with that of the Chancellor Jocelyn, appended.

To this last fling of intolerance no open resistance was offered, and the numerous congregations, who found their chapels closed, were obliged to resort to various obscure and humiliating expedients for participation in the rights of their communion.

After a time the vigour of the interdict was relaxed, and no one seemed to be interested in calling for its enforcement.

In an humble building, situated in one of the poorest portions of Dublin, a priest named Gerald celebrated Mass without interruption, until at length, having drawn to his ministry too numerous a flock, the ruinous building suddenly gave way, and many of them were buried in its fall. For very shame the local Executive hastened to recall their proclamation, and it was never more renewed.

George Grenville opposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for two months as a mere proof of weakness on the part of those in authority, who were unjustified in impugning the loyalty of the people at large. Chesterfield, in the Upper

¹ From Worksop, 7th February, 1744.—MS.

House, commended the moderation of Government in limiting the measure to so short a period, but he subsequently objected to a Bill, introduced by Mr. Fazakerly, making it treason to correspond with sons or descendants of the exiled Sovereign. Dissensions in the Cabinet were hushed for a time by the threat of invasion. About the middle of March a fleet of eighteen ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, having the Young Pretender and Marshal Saxe, with 14,000 troops, on board, appeared off the Isle of Wight, where no force lay to resist them. But before they made any attempt to land a violent gale blew the whole of the squadron out to sea ; and it was not without difficulty the ships composing it reached the French harbours. The immediate danger past, Government gave an account of it the utmost publicity. In the City subscription lists were opened, and a loyal address voted to support the Constitution and the Protestant religion. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Stair, whose recent resignations had failed of their intended effect, offered to take office again in order to give strength, as they said, to the established order of things ; and as it was not a time to be nice, the tender was accepted. A hubbub of perturbation and patriotism was kept up for some weeks, and in the midst of it the sum of £10,000,000 was voted to provide additional means of national defence. The panic had served its turn, and was already snoring drowsily. Devonshire was able, without boasting, to terminate his seven years' trust with the report that public order had not been disturbed in Ireland, and that party spirit had, for a time at least, given way to passive contentment. At length France declared war. Instead of dynastic invasion, the campaign of 1744 was fought in Flanders and on the Rhine. The Young Pretender's letters to his father complained that their party in England were thinking much more of amusement than ought else ; and two or three Catholic gentlemen, who had been arrested on suspicion, were liberated by the Council of Regency, there being no evidence against them. Carteret accompanied George II. to Hanover, where they remained throughout the summer. Chesterfield was rewarded for his aid in the Lords with the Viceroyalty of Ireland ; and Stair, for similar help energetically afforded, was once more made Commander-in-Chief. The magistrates in Northumberland grew ashamed of the seizures of arms and horses they had made, and requested Tankerville to

ask for further instructions. They desired an order for restitution to their Catholic neighbours, as there was not a man in the county who had the least intention to stir.¹

A letter from Goodwood relates to a variety of topics domestic and foreign, but there is not a whiff of smoke about invasion. And so on throughout the wearisome mass of correspondence from all parts of the Kingdom, from persons of various classes about places, promotions, pensions, reversions, and the other stock-in-trade of official importunity, there was no more allusion to Charles Edward, a French landing, or possible change of dynasty than to the waist of rain in Arabia Felix.

Matthews reported that the fleet under his command was in urgent need of reinforcement, and the Cabinet met to consider what was to be done. There were present : Lord President, Privy Seal, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Bolton, Devonshire, Argyll, Tweeddale, Winchilsea, Carteret, H. Pelham, and Newcastle. They could only agree to call upon the Board of Admiralty to report without delay what naval strength was available.²

Carteret's habitual spurn of the vermiculate questionings and cavils of his colleagues tormented Newcastle more than others. At intervals he ruminated the possibility of getting rid of his supercilious coadjutor, who would think and act for himself, and daily exercised more and more complete sway over the mind of the King. From Claremont the head of the Pelhams appealed to his brother whether they ought to endure such contumely any longer : "I have, you know, long thought that it was not possible to go on with my Lord Carteret with any satisfaction to ourselves, or prospect of doing service to our country. This opinion chiefly arose from the nature of the man ; who never will have any fixed scheme of acting ; lives upon events ; and has such a contempt for everybody else that he will not so much as vouchsafe to communicate his thoughts to those with whom he acts, whoever they are. But that which particularly at this time makes it unsafe to go on with him is that his chief view in all that he does, or proposes to do, is the making court to the King, by preferring Hanoverian considerations to all others. By this method he secures the Closet,

¹ Tankerville to Newcastle from Chillingham, 13th May, 1744.—MS.

² Mem. 15th May, 1744.—MS.

whether his schemes succeed or not. Hitherto we have defecated many, and if we were all equally determined to take and share the weight of so doing we might hope to get the better of him, upon the only solid foot, namely, that of prosecuting¹ the war or making peace, if practicable, upon an English principle. My present resolution is to content myself with having contributed to set aside those onerous engagements actually taken by the declarations and secret articles of the Treaty of Worms, which were not ratified, a treaty calculated (as Mr. Shippen said) for the Meridian of Germany. I shall not upon this immediately resign my employment, which, I am sensible, would be distinguishing myself from the rest of my friends, and turn the criticism of the world upon my immediate conduct, rather than upon that of my Lord Carteret. My intention, therefore, is to remain until the rest of my friends think they can go on no longer, and then most heartily and cheerfully to go with them, and whilst I do remain to confine myself only to the business of the Southern Province, now confined to the Court of Turin; never on any account to promote any meeting of the King's servants; to come, however, when it is desired by others, and to give my opinion, *pro re natâ*, to go into the King's Closet as seldom as possible, to avoid being there with Lord Carteret whenever I can, and to take an opportunity to explain to the King the reasons of my particular conduct. But one thing I am more determined on than any other. If the King would remove Lord Carteret to-morrow, and make an Administration just as we ourselves would have it, I would not, on any account, take a part in it without having it first explained that this Hanover complaisance is no longer to influence all our conduct. There is the sore,—there the grievance. If the King goes abroad I take it for granted things will then be brought to a decision."¹

Had a majority of the Cabinet been asked their opinion it would probably have been given against the King's leaving England. They still occasionally tried to persuade one another that they were afraid of the Pretender, and with better reason they were haunted with the fear that any civil commotion would disclose their weakness and how little hold they had upon the respect and confidence of the work-a-day community.

In a paroxysm of candour, the Master of the Horse wrote: "I

¹ To H. Pelham, 10th June, 1744.—MS.

am shocked at the King's going abroad' the more I think of it, it being not only a rash undertaking, but I know and am sure that it must be attended with very bad consequences abroad, and in all likelihood fatal at home, for I am very sure we shall have all the old Hanoverian quarrels over again, get worse, rather than improve in the ill-will of the army, which is at present the only thing we have to trust to, be beat very likely by the French abroad, and, what is still more likely, be invaded by them at home, for which considerations I think that no means can be too strong or even violent to stop it. If entreaties won't prevail, and if Parliament had been sitting, I think he would and ought to be addressed in the strongest terms."¹ His correspondent had not the courage to reiterate such rhodomontade, and, if he had, he would only have been snubbed by his Majesty, who was never easily frightened, and who might well have asked what had become of the millions voted by Parliament to make the Kingdom safe a few months before. Carteret might have suppressed a rising laugh till after dinner, and called for an extra flask of Burgundy to aid him in forgetting for an hour to what impotents the executive power must be left in his absence. But George II. had ever since Dettingen been possessed with the devil of battle, and to Herrenhausen he would go; while his favourite son, then just out of his teens, should have a chance of distinction. Carteret, who had a European policy in his head, whereof one of the conditions was that the reigning family by Act of Parliament should vindicate their preferential title to the Throne by showing that they were not unworthy of their feudal lineage, rejoiced at rather than lamented his obstinacy. Had there been any real danger to the realm he must have known it, and he would have been insane, for his own sake, to have quitted Whitehall. He would have stuck at no device or difficulty to obtain a postponement of the Royal journey; and expostulation from such a man would have prevailed, as it had done when Walpole dissuaded George I. from quitting England on the eve of the revolt of Mar.

But on the 23rd of June he received through Lord Stair a despatch from General Reid regarding 500 transports which had suddenly assembled at Dunkirk, in consequence of which the Cabinet was summoned; and in a long audience, his Majesty,

[•] 1 Richmond to Newcastle, from Goodwood, 20th June, 1744.—MS.

in consideration, "did change his resolution and countermand his orders, so that difficulty was over."¹

But torpor soon overspread both Court and Cabinet, and Newcastle found nothing more important to write about to Houghton than the next presentation to Frimingham, a little parish wanted for a friend, as worth no more than £10 a year. The next time Newcastle went to Kensington, he took care to mention it. But the King said he had promised the first living to a *protégé* of Lady Yarmouth. His Grace argued that the Suffolk parish was not worth that gentleman's taking, but George II., grown experienced in the art and mystery of patronage, replied that he found livings were said to be only £10 a year when they were worth £200; and the Duke could only console Lord Orford by reminding him that these things happen at first sometimes, but are soon afterwards got over.²

If he could not go himself into Germany, his Majesty wished to do something there in aid of the Allies that would be recognised by them. The King of Poland was engaged to furnish, as Elector of Saxony, a contingent of 30,000 men. The force was organised, but could not move without money, and Carteret was ready to assent to a moderate subsidy, but what would other Ministers say? The Chancellor, when consulted, could only hope that our army in Flanders would be able to make their superiority felt over that of the French. The sinister attitude of Prussia was ascribed to our refusal the preceding year to sanction a separate negotiation for active alliance, and "the inaction of the army in Flanders to the King having been forced to stay at home. Whatever the cause, he was now in more indecent ill-humour, after things were partly over, than he had been during the time of their opposition to what was proposed: and Newcastle thought he could see by the air of the Court and the courtiers towards them, or at least towards himself, a greater shyness than he had yet observed. The King probably thought that he had nothing more to hope for from them, and nothing to fear; that they would go on with his favourite Minister, and he would use them accordingly. If any joint resolution could be taken by all their friends, to show him that he must choose between the different parties in his Administra-

¹ Carteret to Newcastle, 24th June, 1744.—*M.S.*

² 23rd August, 1744.—*M.S.*

tion, his Grace would leave the time of doing it to them. But if not, he was determined to let the King know that his having had the misfortune to differ in some points from Carteret had made him so disagreeable to his Majesty, that out of duty to him and regard for himself he must resign his employments : for no man could bear what he went through every day at their joint audiences in the Closet.”¹

Anxious as the old Ministers were, as well they might be, to keep in touch with the Master of Houghton, he was not always as careful of their susceptibilities. Memory would sometimes bring back the time when he could fling little favours around him without asking leave or pausing to think, for he never cared what might be said about them. He wrote to Hardwicke, asking if he would make one, Courtville, Justice of the Peace for Westminster. There was nothing to be said against the man’s character, and possibly he had as much sense in ordinary affairs, and knew as little of the law as their existing worships of the quorum. But the Keeper of the Great Seal was troubled with administrative qualms. Come of nothing himself, he had now a reputation for full-dress dignity to support ; and without venturing actually to refuse he filed a special demurrer : “ I beg your lordship will be assured that no person in the world can have more zeal than I have to obey your commands, nor can think himself more interested where you or your friends are concerned. If the question was concerning anything that ought to be made lucrative I would contribute to it all in my little power, but the true and real reason why I have not yet put him into the commission for Westminster is, the low employment of organist of St. James’s Church, which he is now in the actual possession of. This has made some persons of that Parish, who are Justices of the Peace, object against him : they consider him only as their organist, and whether from a certain *hauteur* or other considerations, they think it improper that he should be brought upon the Bench with them. Neither can I find that any person in that situation has ever been put into the commission. These are the grounds why I have hitherto delayed complying with your request in this little affair, and I beg your lordship will be assured that when I do so, I do a thing much more disagreeable to myself than it can be to you.”²

¹ Newcastle to Pelham, 25th August, 1744.

² To Orford, 4th August, 1744.

Was it a tardy impulse of compunction on the part of the fallen Minister for a wrong done in times gone by that prompted the request? Courtville was said to be the disappointed lover of Maria Skerritt, whom Walpole beguiled from her home several years before, and for the loss of whose services her father made him pay five hundred pounds. Sir Robert was induced by his mistress to whom he became much attached, to have Courtville made organist of the parish church ; and now that the grave had closed over her remains he bethought him of the strange device by way of reparation to which the Chancellor could not be induced to lend his sanction. •

In the autumn of 1744, to the amazement and perplexity of Hardwicke, a feud suddenly broke out between the Pelhams regarding certain rights of private property, about which he had been consulted as their common adviser. His arbitration of their contending claims was upon the whole favourable to the younger brother, on which the Duke gave vent to his mortification in terms of unbridled spleen. His nephew, Henry Earl of Lincoln, and heir-presumptive of his estates and honours, had long been a cause of solicitude and concern to his family. Sincères and dignities heaped upon him failed to kindle political ambition in one whose only boast was that of fabulous excess in every kind of sensual indulgence. Hoping to wean him from his worthless ways, a match had been proposed for him with Lady Pomfret's daughter, the acknowledged queen of beauty of her time, but " Juno," as her adorers called her, listened only to laugh at his foppish and foolish tenders of admiration, and when her hand was given to a worthier suitor, the Duke persuaded him to marry his cousin, daughter of Lady Catherine Pelham. In framing settlements, differences unexpectedly arose that threatened to mar the engagement. The First Lord, naturally anxious that a suitable provision should, under all circumstances, be secured for his beloved, instructed counsel to provide, amongst other things, a rent charge of four thousand pounds on the ancestral estate. The warmth of Newcastle's professions of affection suddenly cooled on the suggestion of the new liability : for do not shallow waters freeze in temperature that does not even seem to chill those of deeper flow ? In an outbreak of ill-temper he exclaimed : " Every deed, every transaction, every thought that arises, convinces me more and more that no man

ever was so hardly, so unkindly, so cruelly used as I am by my brother, but he puts a pistol to my breast and I must yield. To tear a power from me when it is not pretended that any friend or adviser ever proposed or talked to me upon it, or had my previous consent to it, is unheard of. But it is over ; I sign to-night, to show how little I was to be suspected, and that I am not what others are, nor as my brother—without a heart. I have ordered Mr. Murray to prepare the document for me to sign."¹ Hardwicke, being consulted, expostulated to such purpose that the point was conceded without further reproach, and the world was left in ignorance how near the unity of the family had been to snapping asunder.²

In the Low Countries the war languished, and the Dutch, angry at the withdrawal of some of the English troops, and distrustful of the intentions of the Cabinet, refused to be drawn into more active measures. Austria, unsustained by her old allies, was glad to take into pay a motley host of Croats, Pandours, and condottieri. The victory of Dettingen had realised the life dream of George II., but it had realised little else. The French arms everywhere prevailed, and the hopes of the Pretender daily rose. People grumbled at the mismanagement of the war, which they ascribed to what they called the rashness and levity of Carteret ; and his colleagues, who resented his impulsive and inconsiderate demeanour, threw all the blame on him.

Newcastle, his brother, the Chancellor, and Harrington made up their minds to drive him from the helm. He still believed himself supreme, and too strong to be moved. He treated his contemned associates in council with provoking candour and the King with sleepless attention. Could we know all that passed in his long audiences, we should probably find not a few touches of ridicule and perhaps of caricature in his versatile relation of his hindrances and difficulties with Newcastle ; but, too well-bred to allow outsiders a share of the amusement he gave himself and his master at the expense of a colleague, he kept his laugh for occasional opening in the Cabinet, where he could be brusque and blunt. At the end of the session of 1744, the ill-yoked Secretaries had grown tired of the stifled conflict so long

¹ To Hardwicke ---MS.

² Hardwicke to Newcastle, 15th Oct., 1744.—MS.

going on. The freedom of speech used in their altercations at the Cockpit and elsewhere left Carteret in no doubt as to the purpose which we now know was expressed in the Duke's letters to the Chancellor. By his mother's death he had succeeded to the title and estate of Granville, and we read of him by his old name no more.

The event, long awaited, conferred a step in rank at which his wife was said to be elated more than him; and though in mourning, she continued to receive without political distinction the best and wittiest of the political world. Horace Walpole the younger was welcomed as though his father had never been an enemy.

Carteret ruffled too often and too openly his official way-layers. His intellectual superiority to most of them would have been hard enough to bear even though he had not unnecessarily made them feel it. George II. might get out of temper, might be sullen, wayward, and rude to those who would have him throw over his chief confidant in German affairs, but it could matter little if they held together and stood firm; for Granville had no following in the Lower House capable of wrestling with the trained and tried adherents of the Muster-Master-General. Pitt and Cotton might have been kept, perhaps, on his side by Leicester House, but while the Cabinet remained as then constituted, it would avail nothing. Early in June he exclaimed in an altercation at the Palace: "Things cannot go on as they are; they must be brought to some decision. I will not submit to be overruled and out-voted on every point by four to one. If you will take the Government you may; if you cannot, or will not, there must be some direction, and I will do it." Next day he went further: "There is anarchy in Holland and anarchy at home. The first may be removed by a Stadholder; but, to remove the latter, things must be brought to an immediate decision." He believed that the reins would fall into his hands through the weakness of the Pelhams and the necessity that was felt for a firm hand in the conduct of the war. The Pelhams continued to cast all the blame of failure on their hated rival and his friends in Council, the leading features of whose policy they had acquiesced in, but whose executive capacity they affected to contemn. Newcastle repeated intermittently his proposal to resign, but without being able apparently to convince

any of his colleagues of the probability of that step. • Sending a sheaf of despatches to the Chancellor, he urged that the only means to act effectually for the public and honourably for themselves was ~~to~~ remove the cause and author of all mischances and misfortunes, and to continue no longer answerable for the general conduct of affairs. In the first case, they might carry on the war or put an end to it as they thought best ; in the other, they would be answerable for nothing. This way of thinking was not agreeable to their friends. They would have liked better to put it upon measures. What he most feared was that this difference of opinion, this uneasiness; and this indecision with regard to going out, would draw them on next Session as it did the last blaming, cavilling, but still going on ; to prevent which he depended on Hardwicke's friendship and weight in their deliberations.¹

When the time for the meeting of Parliament approached, the Duke made the Chancellor draw up a memorial to the King setting forth in gloomy terms the condition of affairs, and attributing to the Foreign Secretary all the failures and mischiefs that had occurred.² This was first agreed to by the four confederates, and subsequently by several others. Harrington praised it highly, and it was next day sent by special messenger to Euston. All agreed that it should not be presented until its learned author returned from Hertfordshire. News meantime arrived that the Prussian King had suddenly broken through all his engagements, and reduced Prague after a fortnight's siege, making its numerous garrison prisoners of war. Wade, though a brave soldier and an honest man, remained motionless in Flanders ; the Dutch were discouraged by his inaction ; and autumn wore away.

Too late awakened to the want of reliable support, Granville tried by various means to abate the personal antipathies arrayed against him. A curious instance is described by Andrew Stone in a letter to his chief. Pelham told him that the Earl had made him a visit ostensibly of compliment on the recent marriage in his family, and then, as if he had just recollect ed it, said he had had something to mention for near a month past, but had always forgotten when they met. The King had long had an

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 14th September, 1744.

² Mem., 20th Sept., 1744.—MS.

intention to do something for Mr. Edward Finch,¹ had been thinking of granting him the reversion of some office, had fixed on the auditorship of the Exchequer ; and, therefore, directed him to speak to Pelham for that purpose. These matters had sometimes passed through the hands of the Secretary of State, of which he had a proof in the warrant which he drew from his pocket, signed by Sunderland when Secretary, granting the same office to its then possessor ; but he himself thought the more natural course was that it should go through the Treasury. The First Lord asked if he had the King's orders to deliver this message to him, to which Granville replied that he had : on which Pelham said he would not fail to let the King know that he had been thus told of the orders of his Majesty, adding, with great plainness and firmness, his sentiments upon this manner of treating him in the office he bore : and which he had undertaken by express Royal command, and not by any solicitation or desire on his part. Granville, seeing his mistake, said that he might very naturally think that this thing came from him, but that it did not *sing'ly* arise from him. To which Pelham replied that he understood his meaning, and supposed that Lady Yarmouth was employed, but he could not allow that that made any difference. It rested there ; and they then talked of foreign affairs. The speech must be thought of without delay. They were all embarked in the same ship, and must sink or swim together, Opposition certainly thought so. On which Pei-ham rejoined that they were indeed, as far as the kingdom was concerned, and so were the Opposition themselves. It might possibly be thought that he would not be able to raise the requisite supplies for next year ; but that was a mistake ; he was confident of being able to do so, but he certainly would not attempt it, unless he knew and approved of the services for which they were wanted, for this was no time for walking by faith and not by sight. His visitor went away without betraying any ill-humour or disappointment at the reception his maladroit effort of treating had met with.²

The effect produced upon the King by the joint memorial was "sullenness, ill-humour, fear" ; a disposition to acquiesce, if it could be done, with Lord Granville's administration (of Foreign

¹ M.P. for Cambridge University and Groom-in-Waiting.

² A. Stone to Newcastle, 4th November, 1744. From Whitehall.—MS.

Affairs), for that was the whole. This appeared plainly by his Majesty's looks and discourse. Addressing Granville, he said : "It is time to think of a Speech ; we must speak plainly, and lay the whole before Parliament."

"I conclude this day the scheme of conduct will be settled between the King and Lord Granville, which will, I believe, be what I always foresaw : a seeming acquiescence, depending upon Lord Granville's *savoir* to draw us on. This is what I most dread ; and I own I think nothing will prevent it but a *concert intime* in a proper manner with Lord Chesterfield. I have delivered the paper (to the Chancellor) in the manner you all like, my brother has well supported it ; you will be so good as to do it to-morrow or Monday, and I beg you will explain it to the King ; but firmness is beyond all argument. Lord Harrington must soon follow, and I think the Dukes of Dorset and Argyll."¹ The document sent was a round-robin for the dismissal of Granville. The King returned it without any comment, and the ostracised Secretary sore beset looked anxiously on every side for succour.

Through Lord Cholmondeley he sought a reconciliation with his ancient foe, now a lonely invalid at Houghton. Were it possible to bring about an alliance with him, damaged in reputation and enfeebled in strength though he was, Granville believed that he might still be able to break the cabal of disaffected colleagues, if he could not set them at defiance.

The Pelhams divined or had some inkling of this attempt, and confidentially advised Walpole to wrap himself in silence, and not to come to town.

Old Horace wrote to his brother that the contest going on was evidently one for a change of men and not of measures. But the veteran statesman, more weary of idleness and of neglect than of bodily pain, grasped eagerly at the reins which he fancied were once more within his reach, and, against the desire of his physician, undertook the journey that was destined to hasten his end.

Meanwhile his reply to his son-in-law held out little hope of his sharing the views of Ministers ; and certain negotiations with the Tories for a junction having failed, "the great but hunted statesman," to use the words of one of his

¹ Newcastle, 3rd November, 1744.

pursuers : “an outcast from all parties, was at length obliged to resign.”

Granville still retained the confidence of the King, who he freely acknowledged had stood by him as long as it was possible. His sense of commanding ability as a debater had made him too sanguine and reckless in his personal demeanour. It was said of him by Winnington that had he studied Parliament more and Demosthenes less, he would have been a more successful Minister. Without borough influence in the one House or powerful connections in the other, he needed all the coolness and beguiling talk of Walpole to follow in his footsteps or make head against the jealousy which his talents were certain to engender. He lacked both, and took little pains to affect either. Given to pleasure, his fine intellect was often clouded and his temper ruffled by indulgence, and he had sometimes been imprudent enough to appear in public when heated with wine.

Opposition was sounded as to what share of office was expected as the price of support. Negotiations of this kind are naturally carried on with continual disclaimers of authority to bind anyone to anything, but in their progress caution is sometimes forgotten, and patriotic impatience is tempted on a pinch to make free with that most unsafe of political implements—the pen. While the terms of coalition were still unsettled, Chesterfield wrote to the remaining Secretary of State : “ When I had the honour of seeing your Grace last, you seemed desirous to know the numbers and names of our necessary people ; in consequence of which Lord Cobham, Lord Gower, and myself have prepared such a list, which we are ready to give you whenever you please to command us.”¹ Newcastle replied : “ If you, Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower will be so good as to come to my Lord Chancellor’s house at eight o’clock, Lord Harrington, my brother, and I will not fail to meet you there.”² Protracted comparison of personal merits and egregious protestations of private esteem ended for the time only in promises to meet again, but by degrees the force of gravity in votes overcame obstacles and softened difficulties.

Harrington resumed the Seals of Secretary of State ; Dorset became Lord President, and was succeeded by Devonshire as

¹ To Newcastle, 1st December, 1744.—MS.

² To Chesterfield, 3rd December, 1744.—MS.

Lord Steward ; Bedford was made First Lord of the Admiralty instead of Winchilsea, Gower displacing Cholmondeley as Privy Seal. Newcastle wished to be considered Chief Minister. He told Chesterfield that he had tried to bring him into the Cabinet, but found the obstacles insurmountable. He was, however, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the same time Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General, in the hope of inducing them to form an offensive and defensive alliance against France. George II. had been nettled at some liberties Chesterfield had taken in criticising the strategy before the battle of Dettingen : and when, at his audience of leave, the Earl, with his best grimace of humility, asked to be acquainted with his Majesty's final wishes, the impatient reply was, " You have already received your instructions."

The new Cabinet stood thus :—

POTTER	...	...	...	<i>Archbishop of Canterbury</i>
DUKE OF DORSET	...	.	<i>Lord President</i>	
EARL GOWER	...	...		<i>Privy Seal</i>
HARDWICKE	...	...		<i>Lord Chancellor</i>
DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND } LORD HARRINGTON }	...			<i>Secretaries of State</i>
DUKE OF GRAFTON	...	...		<i>Lord Chamberlain</i>
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE	...	...		<i>Lord Steward</i>
DUKE OF RICHMOND	...	...		<i>Master of the Horse</i>
DUKE OF MONTAGU	...	...		<i>Master of Ordnance</i>
DUKE OF BEDFORD	...	...		<i>Admiralty</i>
DUKE OF ARGYLL	...	...		<i>Gt. Seal of Scotland</i>
MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE	...	...		<i>Secretary for Scotland</i>
HENRY PELHAM	...	...		<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>

Stair was satisfied with the Command of the Forces, without being called into Council. But Sandwich would hardly have taken a Junior Lordship of the Admiralty under anyone but his Grace of Bedford, or a Junior Lordship of the Treasury under anyone with whom he was less intimate than Pelham.

Opposition in the Lords had in 1732 gained a highly-prized recruit in the head of the house of Russell. For a few months he had sat in the Lower House for Brackley, when the death of his brother made him the unexpected possessor of Woburn. Venturing somewhat prematurely into the lists, his bright little Grace, as Chesterfield called him, with his small voice, clear blue eye, and brow unruffled as a boy's, moved the Lords, That

the engaging any Peer by threats or gratuities to vote for a representative of the Scottish Peage should be pronounced a high insult to the justice of the Crown, an encroachment on the freedom of elections, and an injury inflicted on the honour of the Peerage. Defeated at first, he returned to the attack, and when out-voted found half-a-dozen young Whigs to join him in putting his accusation of Government corruption on record in the form of a protest. In 1739, he supported the cry for war with Spain, presenting the petition of the London merchants for better compensation than was held out to them, and accusing Ministers of pusillanimity in negotiation. He took an active part in the culminating cabal that drove Walpole from power, and was no doubt mortified at not being included in the Privy Council of victors, who made terms with Newcastle and Hardwicke regarding the first coalition, now come to an end.

John, fourth Earl of Sandwich, was an adherent of the Duke. Energy of character and love of notoriety rendered him distinguished equally in business and in vice. Subtle, ready and adroit, he easily fell in with the wants and wishes of his political allies, and rendered them considerable service by his activity and zeal, both in and out of office. He did not grudge the hours devoted to administrative work as long as he had mental and bodily vigour left for midnight wassail. Current belief invested him with the character of *ame damné* of the first Lord.

Although eight out of the thirteen members of the Cabinet were of ducal rank, they were not agreed as to one another's pretensions. The lord of Goodwood, in his own outspoken way, questioned the fitness of the new First Lord of the Admiralty. Sorry for his being at the head of that department, he looked upon him as vain, proud, and wrongheaded, and he feared they would have "a great deal of plague with him. He was very glad to hear that Opposition were reasonable upon the article of Tories; but the only real difficulty of Ministers was in the Closet, where the King must be spoken to in the same manner he had been; in other words, that he might do without Supplies if he did not submit to be governed as they should dictate."¹

Sir John Hynde Cotton, M.P. for Cambridgeshire, where he possessed a good estate, was named Treasurer of the Household.

¹ To Newcastle, 11th December, 1744:—MS.

George II., who hated him as a foremost leader of the Jacobites, objected passionately to having such a man forced into daily communication with him, but he pleaded in vain.

Hardwicke, who had just completed his new house at Wimpole, had his own reasons for conciliating the proprietor of Maddingley. A caricature of the day represented Ministers cramming the corpulent Baronet down his Majesty's throat, and the only marvel is why Sir John, who had hitherto acted very independently, and who possessed sufficient talents to make him very troublesome in Parliament, should have agreed to be placed in such a position. Waller became Cofferer of the Household, though peculiarly obnoxious to the King for the part he had taken against the Hanoverian troops. George Grenville and Lyttelton were appointed Lords of the Treasury and Admiralty to please Cobham, whose regiment was restored, and a promise was held out to Pitt of his being early brought in. Bubb Dodington was made Treasurer of the Navy; Lord Pembroke was made Groom of the Stole; Lord Monson, First Commissioner of Trade; Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces; Sir W. Yonge, Secretary at War; Lord Edgcumbe, Chancellor of the Duchy; Lords A. Hamilton, Vere Beauclerk, and Baltimore, and Admiral Anson, Lords of the Admiralty; Lord Cholmondeley, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; Lord Hobart, Captain of the Band of Pensioners; Lord Halifax, Master of the Buckhounds. For Pitt no place was found. Since Wyndham's death and the retirement of Pulteney to the Peers, he had become chief orator in Opposition, and still kept his post in the Prince's household. He wished to be Secretary at War, but an occupant of that office was too valuable and complaisant an ally to be exchanged by the Pelhams for an ambitious demagogue without administrative experience or freehold estate. The usual confluence of discontents encompassed the Coalition; all vigorous life and current of thought for the time had ceased. The rank and file of neither of the great political parties were satisfied, the sense prevailing on both sides that they had been sold by their noble chiefs. When George II. complained of having his bitterest opponents forced upon him, the Keeper of the Great Seal replied that it would have been no use to take any who were less conspicuous into the new combination, and if his Majesty looked round the House of Commons, he would find no man

of business, or even of weight, left capable of heading or conducting an Opposition.¹

George II. made no effort to conceal his chagrin at having been compelled to abandon those whom he liked best and trusted most. His demeanour towards the Ministry was so cold and reserved as to attract observation, and their uneasiness increased day by day. Before the Christmas holidays expired, Hardwicke asked an audience, and undertook to read his Majesty a lecture on his past conduct, and to admonish him as to what it should be in future. The King received him standing, and during the interview said little. It began with deferential expressions of desire to know the Royal pleasure, and of concern at the critical position of affairs. If those who had gone out had represented the readjusted Cabinet as opposed to the vigorous prosecution of the war, they had greatly belied them. Far from such being the case, Ministers were ready to call on Parliament for a renewed subsidy to the Queen of Hungary, who would engage the services of the Hanoverians for the preservation of the Electorate; and in addition to take thirty thousand Russians into pay: in short, everything ought and would be done to prosecute the war with vigour. But for this, something more was indispensable than the mere grants of money from a manageable Parliament.

The King interrupted him: "I have done all you asked of me. I have put all power into your hands, and I suppose you will make the most of it."

The Chancellor rejoined: "This disposition of places is not enough if your Majesty takes pains to show the world that you disapprove of your own work."

'The King: "My work! I was forced; I was threatened."

The Chancellor: "I am sorry to hear your Majesty use those expressions. I know of no force; I know of no threats. No means were used but what have been used in all times, the humble advice of your servants, supported by such reasons as convinced them that the measure was necessary for your service."

The King: "Yes, I was told that I should be opposed."

The Chancellor: "Never by me, sir; nor by any of my friends. How others might represent us I do not pretend to know."

¹ Conference with the King, 5th January, 1745.

He then proceeded to dilate on the advantage which a Coalition of the heads of parties gave if it were properly used, not only in carrying legislative measures, but in exercising a freer choice between candidates for Administrative office ; and, trying what a stroke of flattery might do, he added : " Your Ministers, sir, are only your instruments of government." This was too much for Royal patience. The King smiled and said bitterly, " Ministers are the King in this country."

No debates of any interest occurred during the Session. In the Lords there was hardly any discussion worth remembering, and in the Commons Pitt was wondering when his turn would come. Rumours arose, indeed, from time to time, that the " Cobham Squadron " grew impatient, and if not better looked after, might desert. Some curious hints pointing this way were thrown out by Bolingbroke in confidential letters ; and schism was to be apprehended, that it was in the power of Ministers to prevent easily and cheaply enough if thought of in time.² George II. persisted in his ungracious manner towards Ministers, and to their remonstrances refused to give any answer.

He could neither forgive nor forget the unceremonious dictation to which he had been subjected, and he lost no opportunity of making Newcastle feel that he knew him to be the chief promoter of the recent change. The costliest designs of Granville were adopted without scruple as unavoidable ; £500,000 was agreed to for the Queen of Hungary instead of £300,000 ; and the subsidy of £100,000 to the King of Poland was adopted by the united Cabinet as no longer unjust, but, in fact, indispensable. Granville failed to rally any serious opposition in the Upper House, and Pitt figured in the new character of apologist of the martial policy developed by the Ministerial proselytes from the heresy of peace. Newcastle had got rid of Walpole and Carteret successively, but there yet remained one who fed his envy—his own brother. Undiscerning followers continually talked as if the younger and not the elder member of the family was chief. This was intolerable. To get himself endued with the title of Premier might be impossible ; but he would at least insist on co-ordinate authority without reserve. If fraternal dualism came not spontaneously, it must be enforced. A formal proposal in writing to

¹ Account of an interview with the King by Lord Hardwicke, 5th January, 1745.

² From Bolingbroke, 14th Jan., 1745.

this effect bears date 19th January, 1745, "I know my own present situation at Court as well as anybody. I can bear a good deal, but can't bear that any of my colleagues, especially those who are become considerable only by this (late) measure, should take advantage of the ill-will and resentment that I have drawn upon myself by it. This you, and you alone, can prevent. I am sure you will not think unreasonable what I now propose that everything, as far as possible, should be first talked over by you and I, (*sic*) before it is either flung out in the closet, or communicated to *any* of our colleagues; I always except the Chancellor who, I know, is a third brother; that we should have no reserve, either public or private, with each other; and that in our transactions with the other Ministers, or with other persons who may be negotiated with, we should always let it be understood that we speak in the name of both, or in the name of neither. This conduct, once established, will grow easy and natural, and will effectually prevent any jealousies on the one side; or any disagreeable warmth, occasioned by them, on the other. I will call every morning at your house, as regularly as I once did at Sir Robert's. There the scheme of the day shall be settled, to be handed out to others afterwards, as shall be thought necessary, and frequent intercourse at each other's houses, at all hours and times, will also make this very easy to us. You must take an opportunity to let the King see that I feel his behaviour, that I don't deserve it, and that I am, and must be always, a principal part of this present scheme. It would be very unjust that I should be the object of the resentment of all our enemies, and be destroyed by my own Bull."¹

The new Cabinet adopted without scruple the Foreign Policy for which Granville had been hustled from power. "Truth," says Hardwicke, who had borne an active part in the transaction, "obliges me to say that the war was not better conducted on the Continent after he was turned out, nor did Chesterfield bring the Dutch up to our propositions, and the Duke of Newcastle grew as fond of the war abroad as Granville himself."²

The Secretary-at-War moved that 7,000 additional British troops should be sent to reinforce the 21,000 already in Flanders. Lord Powlett's brother would have had the service limited to a

¹ To Pelham, 19th January, 1745.—MS.

² Note of the Chancellor on one of the Duke's confidential letters.

period of two months, and some disappointed Tories were disposed to fetter the action of Government by a condition that was generally felt to be unreasonable, calling this an old measure from a new Ministry. Sir Watkin Wynn declared that for the first time in his life he would vote with the Treasury against old friends, and a more important sanction came from Pitt, who appeared in the House on crutches to avow himself of but one idea, that of the dangerous condition of the realm, to which all other considerations should be made subsidiary. When the question was put no negative voice was audible but that of Lord Strange.¹

In the lull that ensued before Lent the re-established members of the Ministry had little to do but wait in their country houses impatiently for the frost to give, that they might resume their business of fox-hunting.

The Emperor's death and the birth of another son to Maria Theresa are noticed ; but for the rest nothing in Parliament or in the country seems to have been thought worth a line of correspondence.²

Pelham's duty was to inform the Sovereign of such news as came from abroad requiring any modification in the estimates. His reception at St. James's was more disagreeable than usual. Left to himself since the fall of his favourite adviser, to suggest what should be done abroad, George II. talked warmly of attacking his brother-in-law of Prussia, which the First Lord argued against by saying that it would be impracticable to enter into new engagements of that kind ; but he did not think that what he said made any impression, and though he had nothing to complain of personally, he had never had a more unpleasant conversation. The King spoke with great dislike and acrimony of Harrington on the occasion of his having got Mr. Rich to be made a lieutenant-colonel by General Wade ; "he was always getting something for his dirty relations, and had views on all manner of things, letting nobody else have them." Pelham mentioned nothing of what passed at the next meeting of Cabinet. The new Secretary came himself late, and said he had no difficulty in the points he went through with the King except the Hanover troops and the Command-in-Chief. He

¹ 23rd January, 1745. Vorke's "Parliamentary Journal."

² Richmond to Newcastle, 10th February, 1745.—*I.S.*

shewed that a commission could not legally be granted to Königseg to command English troops. The King immediately answered that he saw what was meant ; that he himself had not been thought worthy to command, yet now it was to be given to his second son,—“a youth of but four-and-twenty.” Upon Harrington disclaiming such a motive for opposing his Majesty’s going abroad the previous year, he said, “It must either have been that, or a resolution to get rid of Granville, and in that case he was sacrificed, and his honour given up for their cabals. Granville was a man of the greatest abilities this country had ever bred. They had forced him from Him, and He was weary of them all.”¹ This was said with great heat and passion, notwithstanding which, Harrington thought he left him with an understanding that the command of the whole combined army was for the Duke of Cumberland.² The disastrous issue of this decision was destined to become memorable ere long. Prince William was gazetted Captain-General of the Forces at home and abroad. His personal courage at Dettingen was pardonably made the most of at Court, and was made a pretext by the Cabinet for his appointment to command the army in Flanders.

His lack of age ought not to have stood in the way of his gradual promotion, if at four-and-twenty he had had experience, or had displayed qualifications of strategic lead that have sometimes though early justified a Government in committing the lives of a numerous host and the credit of their country to youthful discretion.

But Pelham and his colleagues could not plead misconception or affect ignorance of the Prince’s incapacity ; and the sanguinary event speedily branded with reproach their grave dereliction of duty.

For many weeks Walpole lay at his house in Arlington Street suffering intensely from the malady that had long afflicted him, and with which no skill of surgery at the time ventured to deal. Day by day he lost what remained of faith in the soothing promise of amendment, and even the hope of mitigation grew vain. He was seldom able to leave his chamber, and whole

¹ See the different colour which the biographer of Pelham seeks to give to the transaction. Coxe, I., page 230.

² A. Stone (recounting what Pelham and Harrington had told him immediately after their audiences) at Whitehall, 16th February, 1745.—MS.

days and sleepless nights were passed in pain, only assuaged by opium. He still communicated constantly with the King, whom he counselled to accept a situation which he said was inevitable. By the time he was told that Granville had resigned he was too ill to be troubled further with public affairs. Against the entreaty of his family he resorted in a frenzy of pain to the specific which a quack had gained notoriety by advertising, and which it was pretended would dissolve the internal impediment that tortured him; but the effects were fatal, and on the 18th of March he sank to rest.

The campaign in Germany went so ill that all the hopes of Ministers centred in the event of the war in Flanders.

The feeble efforts at negotiations for peace having failed, the Queen of Hungary and the King of Great Britain prepared to renew a struggle with the help of their allies at the head of 248,000 men; while the King of France and his auxiliaries boasted of 355,000 troops fully equipped for war. In the councils of Versailles the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands was resolved on as the primary object of the campaign, and the best regiments, both horse and foot, were concentrated near Valenciennes with an adequate force of artillery.

Louis XV. resolved to witness in person the *succès destine* of his arms, and, accompanied by the Dauphin and the chief nobles of his court possessing military experience, prepared to make his home in camp when the season opened. To Marshal Saxe was confided the fortunes of France, and when he took the command there were no fewer than 76,000 disciplined troops while against them were arrayed of combined English, Dutch, and German levies about 51,000 all told.

Divided command, however, was said to have heretofore proved unsatisfactory and unsafe. The Cabinet therefore resolved on stipulating at the Hague and at Vienna that the sole direction of allies in the field should be entrusted to the Duke of Cumberland. The veteran Lord Crawford expressed his regret that reinforcements of at least 5,000 each were not provided to sustain the impending encounter.

Suddenly, as a bolt from the summer sky, the intelligence reached Whitehall, that the allied armies had been engaged for many hours on the 11th May near Fontenoy, and had been driven from their camping-ground with dreadful slaughter. •

The meinorable tale has been often told, but after a century and a half it remains a reproach to the Ministers of 1745, who, in the pursuit of their own aims, risked, without a scruple or a qualm, the reputation and the fate of the only British army serving abroad.

Parliament had already risen; many persons of consequence had left town, and the King, dejected and disgusted at his more than ever helpless position, was at Hanover when the disastrous news arrived. Hardwicke's stifled muttering of dismay was characteristic of the man. Everything seemed out of order, method, and reason. Little or nothing was said about the army, or the juvenile commander, or Marshal Saxe, or the Irish Brigade; but much about the inevitable ignominy into which Ministers were doomed to fall unless something could be done, which he owned his incapacity to compass. "If we do not try to retrieve either misfortunes or mistakes, and if we do not do it *now* with discretion and with the utmost vigour and application, and perhaps with the appearance of even more than we can effectually exert, we shall be thought inexcusable. Recruits can't be raised in time, and yet the British troops, who have suffered abundantly the most, must be recruited. I know our weak condition, but might not draughts be made from the regiments here and sent immediately, and their strength replaced in Great Britain by troops from Ireland? The talk of the town seems to be that there were not above 12,000 Dutch in the army. If that be so, 'tis abominable, but the next thing seems to be to compel them to send up the rest of their stipulated quota. I have said five hundred times this winter that we should have no sufficient army in Flanders. For God's sake, my dear Lord, consider whether there ought not to be some appearance at least of the Ministers meeting to deliberate upon these things at such a crisis. Though nothing effectual can be done, the world at such a time expects such appearances. I hope my Lord•Chesterfield has not yet left Holland; and, if he has not, I should hope he would stop a little. That might be of use, and there might be more utility in my Lord Harrington's conferring with the Pensionary and his Lordship there, than with us here."¹

¹ From Powis House to Newcastle, 16th May, 1745.—MS.

CHAPTER III

IN QUEST OF A CROWN.

1745.

Charles Edward at Holyrood—Perplexity at Whitehall—Absence of the King—Chesterfield in Ireland—Celts at Carlisle, Manchester, and Derby—No Quarter in Repression—Failure of Granville and Bath—Pitt at the Pay Office—Stamping out Disaffection—Culloden and After.

CHARLES EDWARD was the guest of the Duc de Bouillon in Normandy, when he heard of Fontenoy. Hastening to Paris, he was told by his partisans that his longed-for opportunity was come, that the English army was demoralised by their great disaster; and that if supported promptly by Louis he might now recover Scotland without a blow, and cause his Hanoverian cousin to tremble on his English Throne.

Early in July he set out on his memorable quest of a Crown; and there were not wanting generals and politicians at the Court of Versailles who were struck by the daring and plausibility of his venture. Week after week the great fortresses of the Netherlands surrendered, and the remains of the allied army were obliged to fall back to Antwerp. Andrew Fletcher, a staunch friend of the Government, wrote to Secretary Tweeddale: “Ever since the battle of Fontenoy, I have been dreading an invasion; and I am sorry to find by your Lordship’s letter that there is great reason to apprehend that one is near at hand, while we continue to be so ill provided to resist any powerful attempt.”¹ The first rumbling of the storm which was destined to sweep over half the Kingdom came from a confidential source in the Highlands on the eve of Walpole’s death; but it made

¹ Campbell-Maclachlan General Orders, Cumberland Campaigns.

apparently little, if any, impression at Whitehall ; and preparations continued to be made for sending every available corps to encounter the French before Tournay. At Edinburgh it was openly said that as soon as Parliament was up the young Chevalier would appear in the Highlands with such a force as one ship could carry, and the Irish troops in the French service were to follow as soon as possible. This daring scheme, though but partially bruited, threw Ministers into perplexity. News had come that four thousand Hanoverians on their way to reinforce the Garrison of Ghent had been cut to pieces, or made prisoners ; Moltke, who commanded them, having only escaped with a shattered party of horse to Ostend, said to be destitute of any adequate means of defence. The Cabinet was hastily summoned to meet at Lincoln's Inn Fields on the 3rd of July to consult with Sandwich, V. Beauclerk, and Anson, how a fleet might without delay be got ready for sea to defend the South Eastern coast. It was hoped that in a week or ten days six or seven 90-gun ships and as many frigates might be assembled in the Downs, without recalling too many from the pressing service of convoy. An Admiral was required to command ; and it was proposed to name Vernon, as Sir J. Norris would certainly decline. Government had no account of the Duke of Cumberland, or his army, and they feared the worst.¹

Newcastle lost no time in consulting with Stair and Sir J. Wade, how temporary succour should be send to Ostend ; and the tidings of the reduction of Sonnenburg and Cape Breton by volunteers from New England, supported by Admiral Warren's fleet, rallied his energy for National defence.

The state of public feeling towards the established order of things is vividly portrayed in the private letters of those who were identified by interest and feeling with the stability of the Government. Fifty-seven years after the expulsion of James II., his grandson, encouraged by promises of aid from France and Spain, landed in Scotland,² and reasserted his hereditary claim to the Throne. He was joined by several of the Highland clans, and not a few men of rank rallied to his standard. Edinburgh opened her gates to him, and in the ancient palace of Holyrood he held his Court for several weeks. But the Castle of Edin-

¹ Sandwich to Bedford, 4th July, 1745.

² 25th July, 1745.

burgh held out for King George, and the Lowlands sullenly refused to acknowledge James III. as their King. It was a revolt of the Celts against Constitutional Union.

The Cabinet agreed to send for military aid to Holland. As every day the aspect of matters became more grave, Newcastle grew more fussy, and Pelham more alarmed ; but the King, at Hanover, was told there was no danger, and his fears were calmed by the assurance that the coasts of England were well guarded against any attempt at landing by the French. The English regiments in Flanders, and the Dutch succours were certain to arrive before the Scotch could cross the Border ; and if need were, three thousand Hessian troops might be obtained, and a brigade of Danes.

A gradual sense of the infirmity of purpose and sterility of resource in administration crept through the community. Chief Justice Willes, on circuit, struck by the mutterings of misgiving and complaint, reported confidentially what he heard. "Wherever he had been, he found those who were disaffected to the Government elated to the highest degree, and those who were best affected under distressing apprehensions. He endeavoured to encourage them as much as he could, but it was difficult to give spirit to another when one had little of one's own. For God's sake, what were they doing ? Would not his Majesty come home to them, when his presence was so much wanted ? Should we continue to send men and horses abroad when threatened with invasion at home ?" ¹

On the news of the Chevalier landing, orders were given *et abundantia cautelæ*, though no alarm was felt by the Secretary of State. "It would have had an odd appearance, however, for my brother and I (*sic*) to go to horse races fifty miles off upon receipt of this news, though we are under no new alarms upon it. I have sent to Jimmy (Pelham) to make our excuses and do as if we were there. I have also ordered Sam Bush to send back the Cooks and the Butler, but to keep the Baron with him."

Misgivings daily spread. The Chancellor proposed to arrest the publishers of papers of an inflammatory kind. Urgent despatches were forwarded to Hanover, praying the King's immediate return, and to the camp at Ostend for the transport of troops to England.

¹ From Hereford, to Secretary of State, 5th August, 1745.—MS.

The Postmaster-General desired a warrant to open all suspected letters, as he had formerly done, but feared to enter upon afresh without explicit authority.

• On the King's return sooner than was expected, Granville was admitted to audience, and his communications, it was thought, did not add to his Majesty's alarm. He could not be expected to own that his continental policy, which had been adopted by others after he had been driven out, was substantially wrong, though they had blundered in their copy: but from first to last he was incredulous and contemptuous of alleged dangers to the dynasty. The King was not easily frightened at any time; and his late advisers continued to feed his confidence in his own security with sarcasm and scoff at the perturbation and feebleness of their rivals. The latter complained of its being said that they had had the game in their own hands in the Low Countries if they had known how to play it. France, after all, was making pitiful use of her success in America, whereas England had made a very good figure. Both the Pelhams had very unkind receptions at St. James's.¹

From Powis House were sent various signals of distress. Lady Hardwicke wrote to her son, Philip Yorke, on the 1st of August, describing the state of feeling in the Metropolis. "In the meanwhile we are marrying and giving in marriage; even our patriot Bishops of seventy are consoling themselves with young wives. In short, all ranks, all orders of men, think of nothing but pleasure or profit." To her son, Joseph, then in Flanders, she said: "The town is full of fears, and which way soever I look I see little comfort." The Chancellor himself represented the state of affairs in language still more desponding. To Lord Glenorchy he wrote: "When I look around me; and consider our whole situation, our all appears to be at stake;" and to his son, Colonel Yorke: "How weak we are at home is too well known to everybody, and was so when we sent that fruitless reinforcement to Ostend"; and to Archbishop Herring: "We are threatened with having the Kingdom wrenched out of our hands; in the North the storm is gathering; Archbishops of York have before now drawn the secular as well as the spiritual sword, and I hope your Grace will stand between us and danger. That the Pretender's son is actually joined by some of the clans

¹ Newcastle to Chesterfield, 5th Sept., 1745.—MS.

of Macdonald and the Camerons, mostly Papists, I take to be very certain. Incredulity has much prevailed here concerning this fact, though I think it is something attested ; but I cannot help agreeing with your brother of Canterbury that in this case our want of faith proceeds greatly from want of zeal, which in politics is the worst sort. The spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated. The success at Cape Breton is very considerable, a vast loss to France, and it may be a very great advantage to this country. I wish we had more of these articles to balance the account. Is it not time for the pulpits to sound the trumpets against Popery and the Pretender ? ”

Prussia just then wished for breathing time after her exhausting efforts ; and proposals of peace were welcomed by the Chancellor, the Duke, and others of the Cabinet ; but viewed with averted eyes by Pelham and Harrington, who studied more closely the wishes of the King. Newcastle distrusted the Courts of Vienna and Dresden. He could not but be uneasy, when he plainly perceived in his brother rather a dissatisfaction than otherwise, at the near prospect of a conclusion of the quarrel, which he attributed first to an apprehension that they should feel the resentment of the King, for having forced him to this disagreeable measure, and secondly, that a peace would not be likely to be generally regarded with favour. He was thoroughly convinced that the fear of offending Hanover was the sole cause of all their misfortunes, and that his brother had sucked in that poison from his late governor (Walpole), from whom for some years he learned nothing that either tended to his honour or to his interest.¹

Pelham, writing to Argyll, says : “ I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability and languor of our friends. I see the contagion spreads in all parts, and if your Grace was here, you would scarce in common conversation meet with one man who thinks there is any danger ; scarce truth, in an invasion at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it, and I am now as much convinced as my late friend, Lord Orford, was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over.”² Ere September had arrived, those in Government who were least wanting in pluck or discern-

¹ To Hardwicke, 11th Aug., 1745.—MS.

² 20th August, 1745.

ment, became seriously alarmed. Henry Fox, in a fit of ill-humour or recklessness, magnified the danger.

"England, Wade says, and I believe it, is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the six thousand Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or five thousand French or Spaniards will be here first you know our fate. The French are not come, God be thanked.—But had five thousand landed in any part of this Island a week ago I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle."¹

A meeting was held in the City which voted a loyal address, and several of the wealthy merchants headed a subscription to raise a Volunteer Corps. But their example does not seem to have proved contagious. Rumours were current of plots, but either they rested on vague surmise or Ministers deemed it more prudent to affect unconcern, and no one of note was taken up.

Whatever disaffection there might be to the reigning family, it apparently did not proceed from love to the other.

A despatch from Whitehall announced the threatened movement of the Scotch insurgents southwards, and directed the immediate transport of two regiments from Dublin to Chester to overawe any movement of disaffection. Government was sensible how small a force would in that case remain in Ireland, and they would have the Lord-Lieutenant consider whether it might not be expedient to raise some new corps in the northern parts of the Kingdom.² Chesterfield replied that he had no doubt of being able to recruit numerously among respectable classes of Protestants in Ulster should the emergency really arise, but he hesitated to broach the subject to any of his staff. The country was indeed in a wretched state of defence, the regular troops but few, the forts and barracks long neglected and extremely out of repair, and the Catholics throughout the Kingdom four to one Protestant. He further depicted the state of things without party divisions, and "no formed opposition, but every connection, nay, almost every family, expecting to govern, and meaning to distress the Lord-Lieutenant, if they couldn't govern. Anything proposed by one was, for that very reason, opposed by twenty."³ He earnestly recommended his Grace to try all means to keep together the majority in Parliament. It was more necessary now

¹ To Sir C. H. Williams, 5th and 9th Sept., 1745.

² Sept., 1745.—MS.

³ To Newcastle, 9-12th Sept., 1745.—MS.

than ever. He was sensible there would be great difficulty in doing it, but necessity knew no law. "If he could not shew a very great majority in the Irish Parliament, and hinder the forming of a party of various denominations, which would then be called a National Party, he need not mention the obvious consequences of such a situation. Some public brand should surely be put upon Lord Granville and his followers that people might know where power at least, if not favour, was lodged. Finches turned out, Garters properly disposed of would be the true signs where power was to be found: and the same methods that turned out the master, would turn out the men."¹

He was rather for declining the offers of the noblemen who would raise new regiments. Lord Kildare, though his estate was extensive, and his income large, would probably gather most of his recruits in Dublin and the neighbourhood, which were not the best to be relied on. Lord Southwell could only recruit among the Palatines, who had immigrated in his father's time; and Lord Clanricarde could not enlist a dozen Protestants in Galway. Both men and officers in these corps would be raw and inexperienced, and the whole more expensive and less serviceable than the regular military. The prevalent feeling among the Protestants of the community of loyalty and spirit was universal.² But he grieved to own that the peasantry were used worse than negroes by their lords and masters, and their deputies of deputies of deputies. He refused absolutely to put in force the statutes still existing for closing Catholic places of worship, and said that the beautiful Miss Ambrose was the only dangerous Papist that he had found. But he comforted his colleagues in the Cabinet and his acquaintances in society with the assurance that the penal law by which Catholic estates were to be divided according to the rule of *Gavel-kind* unless the eldest son professed Anglicanism, and the operation of the Charter-schools might perhaps some time or other reduce the disproportion between the privileged communion and the out-lawed multitude.

Government received assurances from various quarters of enlisting zeal. The peers and gentry of Yorkshire assembled to organise companies and battalions of Volunteers. In Derbyshire the Militia and Yeomanry answered the appeal from Chatsworth

¹ Chesterfield to Newcastle, 12th September, 1745.—MS.

² Chesterfield to Newcastle, 14th September, 1745.—MS.

to muster and arm ; in Notts and Northamptonshire there was a lively response to similar calls : and General Oglethorpe asked for rifles and ammunition for a Regiment of Hunters which the gentlemen in his district had undertaken to raise. The merchants of Bristol subscribed for the pay and keep of the City contingent, and Lord Berkeley reported that the working-men of the Forest of Dean would be ready to move at three days' notice. Circulars were issued by the various Nonconformist bodies in London to their brethren throughout the Kingdom to lose not an hour or miss an opportunity in rendering effective aid in resisting the Pretender. From Knowsley there was intelligence that though they had many Catholics in those parts, "they were perfectly quiet ; how far things might alter when they saw their friends amongst them his Grace would be the best judge ; for the rest of the county there never was less appearance of an intention or a desire to disturb the Government."¹

Charles Wesley's diary records the unanimous loyalty of his people. The Dissenters everywhere offered their support to Government. In Northamptonshire, Halifax was busily engaged in raising recruits, and found zealous aid in their distinguished pastor Doddridge, who boasted that he had brought him twenty-four brave soldiers ; and his congregation joined in weekly contributions for supporting them.

Not knowing what to believe, and the atmosphere being full of threatening tales, the King listened to the spurn bestowed by Granville on the panic of Ministers, and met their suggestions by crying, " Bah, don't talk to me of that stuff." Pelham threatened to resign, and his more tenacious brother wrote to his scattered colleagues urging their presence in town. Richmond refused to come, as they knew his mind already. He thought all of them were bound in duty to bear with anything, even with such foul language as no one gentleman could take from another, at that critical time, rather than give up their employments ; for this single reason, that their master was so blind to his own interest that he would put his whole Government into the hands of Granville and others, who would bring about immediate destruction, to him and them. He thought they ought to save him whether he would or not, but if the Pelhams and the Chancellor quitted their employment, he would resign his. He

¹ Earl of Derby to Sec. of State, 22nd Sept., 1745.

had hitherto pinned his faith upon these three. The behaviour of the Dutch was the most treacherous and astonishing thing ever heard of, and as it was Harrington's measure, he would be torn to pieces in Parliament for it ; and the whole nation would be in a flame. There was no retrieving it without the Duke of Cumberland and the whole English army being sent for home immediately to defend them against the French, and send all the Dutch against the rebels. But he was so tired of advising of late, seeing so plainly that he had never been listened to (and he believed laughed at), that he did not care to trouble them or himself any more. Though each of his colleagues singly seemed to be of his opinion, when they were all together, advising the King, instead of sending for the army home, it had never been thought expedient. It gave him a great deal of uneasiness, for he owned he thought destruction was at their door. All he had was at stake, but he did not come to town, for he knew that was of no use." ¹

George II. in a fit of impatience asked the Chancellor if he would undertake to reform the Ministry, replacing the Pelhams with Winchilsea and Cholmondeley, and assuming that there need be no other removals. Hardwicke at once refused, showing the impracticability of the scheme, and desired Granville might be tried. Objections were made that Granville had no following or any means of getting any, but still he might be sent for.²

Official hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness were stunned into silence for a time by the intelligence of Sir John Cope's defeat near Edinburgh with the loss of several hundred men, and his rapid retreat southward, with the remainder of his shattered corps.

Before the news of Preston Pans arrived, the Secretary of State had the weakness to write to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland that "they had for the present lost one kingdom, and he was afraid that the proper methods would not be taken to save the other. He meant to follow such advice, and countenance such persons as were most capable. But the ill-humour and jealousies of part of the Administration increased every day ; and a new method was now taken, to cajole and flatter almost every other member of the Cabinet at the expense of the Two Brothers.

¹ From Goodwood, 16th Sept., 1745.—MS.

² Newcastle to his wife, 18th Sept., 1745.—MS.

They had spoke out very plainly ; but that plainness had embarrassed, not convinced. They had at last directly and plainly declared that in case the Queen of Hungary did not consent to the proposed treaty of peace, either through her own obstinacy or any other motive, they could not undertake to support her any longer, or to open Parliament upon that foot." This declaration had been strongly backed by the Chancellor, Harrington, Bedford, and Gower, with whom they acted in perfect concert and friendship in everything. The objection made was, would they abandon their allies? If they would not support the Queen of Hungary, would they abandon the Dutch in Flanders? To all which they gave the answer that it was impracticable and impossible to go on with the war upon the old footing ; that the Dutch would make their separate peace and the King of Sardinia too ; and Hungary and the Empire be overrun by France and Prussia. This made some, but very little impression. Nothing but a rebellion in the heart of the Kingdom would or should hinder them from retiring from the most disagreeable and perhaps the most dangerous situation that ever Ministers were in ; and as soon as the rebellion was in effect over that would be their measure.¹ The Duke of Cumberland had been early advised of the peril that had arisen, and was pressed for detachments from his army to defend the Capital. No adequate force could be immediately mustered for its protection ; and had not these arrived the day before the news of Cope's defeat the confusion in the city would not have been describable. Some weeks later General Wade was enabled to cross the Trent at the head of several thousand men : yet this was not enough to deter Charles Edward from resolving to pass the Border. The irresolute Minister wrote to Prince William :

" If France, who has set this young gentleman to work, should support him we have no way to save this country and the King's Crown but by further reinforcements from your Royal Highness's army. We have endeavoured to prevent the misfortunes that have happened, and to extricate his Majesty from them as well as we could, and yet we are far from having the satisfaction of being approved or supported."² At length the youthful General was recalled to England, and, notwithstanding his proofs of incapacity

¹ To Chesterfield, 21st Sept., 1745.—MS.

² 25th Sept., 1745.

in Flanders, was named to take command against the invaders. In the Press and in Parliament his personal bravery was deemed more than compensation for his faults as a strategist ; and he was hailed¹ by the unpolitical many as a deliverer from civil war.

In the panic of the hour, the price of recruits for the Guards rose from forty shillings to six pounds : and it took some months to restore the normal price of physical securities.¹

Amid his military preparations, Chesterfield found time to tell Andrew Stone what he thought of Ministerial prospects. Why he preferred unbosoming his viceregal mind to him rather than to his chief does not exactly appear ; but he desired his own thoroughness and devotion to the Pelhams not to be mistaken. The Two Brothers had the game in their hands. " How could Somebody help himself if he couldn't get others to undertake the Administration ? The present public situation and the private distress in the Royal closet should be made proper use of immediately. The Brothers could never expect favour ; but they had strength, and should exert it without loss of time ; they had friends who would stand or fall with them, and if they would now give the law—he was convinced they might—why should their continuance at their posts be put singly upon the Queen of Hungary's acquiescence ? And why should not domestic regulations be made at the same time another condition, *sine qua non* ? If a public brand were not put upon Granville and his adherents before the meeting of Parliament, they would have the strength before the ending of it. *Delenda est Carthago*, and this was the moment in which it might be done. For himself, he was already half-tired of office, and when he gave up Ireland he would be tempted to look for leisure."²

To Newcastle himself he was still less reserved.

" After the late defeat, which could only have happened from ill-conduct or cowardice, some particular acts of rigour and severity were absolutely necessary. The rebels were no doubt in spirits on the occasion, which spirits ought as soon as possible to be taken down by some act of rigour. If any officers had not done their duty, he hoped they were by this time broke, be they who they might, and he hoped, too, that the regiment of dragoons

¹ *Gazette* of 7th September, 1745.

² 30th Sept., 1745.—MS.

that did not stand one fire was at least decimated. If the severest examples were not made upon such an occasion, cowardice and treachery would promise themselves impunity upon every other. 'As Scotland had hitherto been constantly the nursery of rebellion, he hoped it would now be made the grave of it. Favour and leniency to that country had, he was sure, run their length. The collusion was too gross between the avowed enemies and many of the pretended friends of his Majesty's Government, and if regard for the latter was to produce management for the former, the seeds of rebellion would ever remain in that country, and germinate upon every seemingly favourable opportunity. He made no difficulty, therefore, in declaring his opinion that the Commander-in-Chief should be ordered to give no quarter, but to pursue and destroy the rebels wherever he found them, without regard to the inconveniences that might result for the time to others who might call themselves loyal. And he was fully convinced that if the Castle of Edinburgh had battered the town about the ears of the rebels, not five of the King's real friends would have suffered by it.'¹ He had taken on himself to order the immediate recruiting of four additional regiments in Ulster to supply the want of those withdrawn. He had given strictest orders that no man should be enlisted without a certificate that he was a Protestant, from the parson of the parish, and he had declared that he would break any officers who disobeyed. He had further mustered all the troops within reach into cantonments to be ready to repel any attempt at invasion in Galway or Cork, where if anywhere it was sure to be, but where, as the event proved, it was not made. "He had left the north of Ireland to take care of itself, which it was able and willing to do." And for Dublin he had two regiments of horse and three of foot which he had sent for from Ulster; he had besides 300 pensioners and the City militia. Government might be sure that no attempted insurrection would gather strength. Finally, with the advice of the Primate, Chancellor, and Speaker, the Militia had been called out in every Irish county without waiting for legal authority. He could make nothing of the few suspected Catholics that had been taken up, and on the whole he did not think they were in the secret.² "You remember how

¹ 29th Sept., 1745.—MS.

² To Newcastle, 29th September, 1745.—MS.

you got Lord Granville out of place. *Somebody* was then a prisoner, was ill-used, had the law imposed upon him ; the Two Brothers were the jailers, the usurpers, the Devil and what not ; but you persisted and you prevailed. The same means will and alone can give you the power, and take it from Lord Granville, who will always have the favour. I consider the rebellion in Scotland is crushed as soon as our army gets there ; the Highlanders will then return to their dens and trust to their damned country for security. But were I to direct, I would have a short Act of Parliament for the transporting to the West Indies every man concerned in the rebellion, and give a reward for every one that should be apprehended and brought to transportation. This, I think, would be a better way than hanging some of the rascals and letting the others go home for another rebellion. All my good subjects here are unanimously zealous, but unanimously frightened too, which I confess I am not. I take all the proper precautions, but without encouraging any of the million projects offered me every day."¹ George II. was delighted with the martial schemes of his Lord Deputy, and said more than once, "Chesterfield is right" ; and he desired all his recommendations to be honoured and countersigned. The contrast presented was but too striking between the viceregal vigour and the irresolute wrangling of Ministers as to what should be done. The nobility were raising regiments rather too fast, for they would be of great expense and create confusion among military men.²

Tweeddale, Granville, and Stair persisted throughout in treating the outbreak in Scotland as an affair of little consequence. And the adherents of Government comforted themselves with the reflection that comparatively few men of quality or fortune had joined the Invader. Without foreign aid they did not believe that he could eventually prevail. On the 7th of October a Parliament was summoned in the name of King James to meet in Edinburgh, and ten days later the United Parliament was convened at Westminster by King George. Each assembly pledged lives and fortunes in support of the dynasty it preferred ; and left the battle to be fought out by a few thousand troops on either side. Fourteen Peers of note had offered at the beginning of the panic to raise each a regiment of his own on condition that

¹ To Newcastle, 5th October, 1745.—MS.

² Newcastle to Chesterfield, 9th October, 1745.—MS.

he should have the appointment of the officers ; but when the offer had been accepted, all, with the exception of Lord Kildare, insisted upon the regiments being paid for by the Treasury, and threatened to throw up if their terms were not complied with.

The victory gained by Frederick over the Queen of Hungary seemed to facilitate the chance of peace between the German powers, and Chesterfield did not scruple to say to Stone that he hoped that victory would give a very favourable opportunity for another victory *somewhere*.

During the most critical period of Charles Edward's insurrection, the course of post between London and Dublin varied from five to twenty days.

On the 24th of October we find the Lord-Lieutenant acknowledging a Home Office despatch of the 9th "six posts from England being due." But whatever lack of facilities for communication there may have been, cessations there were none. Chesterfield's thirst for the show of personal power had led him to covet the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and as he had a notion that his predecessors had neglected their duties and opportunities, he would do the work himself with his own hand and set an example for the future of activity, diligence and impartiality, toleration and executive vigour. To those who trafficked in Church patronage on the old pretence of maintaining the English interest and spreading the growth of Protestantism by importing time-servers, he was rather a marplot ; and when he allowed himself to be driven by a Popish coachman, they muttered audibly that the cause was lost. Beyond the tacit assumption, however, of a certain species of dispensing power, whereby he mitigated the iniquity of some of the laws he had undertaken to administer—(none of which, however, he advised should be repealed)—his philosophic justice did not go. His former connections gave him access to leading men of the Jacobite party, whom he treated with marked hospitality, and strove to conciliate by assurances that under him they had no molestation to fear. But he was too keen an observer of his time to entertain any respect for the intellectual capacity of men who clung to a cause that had been lost half a century before : and he gave them to understand that if the credit of his Pro-consulate were dimmed by plots or disturbances, he would be as ruthless in repression as Black Tom had been. What precise effect his mingled blandishments and menaces had, or how

far they contributed to keep Ireland tranquil during the memorable autumn and winter of 1745, it is not very easy to say. The fact remains that not a ripple of revolt broke the still surface of Irish submission during the whole of that critical period.

Ministers in London were aghast at the Pretender's advance to Carlisle,¹ whose castle and open town submitted without a blow. Parliament refused nothing that was asked in Supply; but its temper was languid and unbelieving. If Government could get some infusion of new blood, it might, perhaps, do better: Pitt and Cobham had not been factious recently; why should they not come in? The Prince of Wales was moved to press the question; and they agreed to meet the brothers to discuss a modified line of policy with the substitution of some other friends of Leicester House for those who had been last time absorbed. His recent affliction, it was understood, precluded Granville's name being mentioned. The Duke's account of the interview occupies ten sheets of foolscap, dull and diffuse as usual, and inconclusive, save that peace was not easily attainable with the Dutch; and without them it was impossible to carry on the war. The tone taken by Pitt throughout the Session, as well as by Lord Strange, was defensive of the Cabinet, and many of his party co-operated ostensibly in all the measures to repel the Highland in-break. Bath and Granville, as well as Chesterfield, had held throughout that the revolt could accomplish nothing. England had more disciplined troops at home than she was again likely to have at ordinary times, and if these could not give an account of the Pretender's adherents, they could be of little use in war:

Newcastle looked more and more to Chesterfield, and kept him well-advised of the throbings of the Ministerial pulse. "Mr. Pitt continues cold and reserved, and frequents none of us; G. Lyttelton is warm, eager, well-inclined, but partial in the greatest degree to Mr. Pitt and his opinion. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Gower have all the good dispositions we can wish; act entirely in concert with us, approve of all we do, and we do nothing without them."² Lyttelton soon after was made a Lord of the Treasury. Chesterfield, elated more than ever with his administrative success, was ready to go all lengths for the Pel-

¹ 17th Nov., 1745.

² Newcastle to Chesterfield, 30th Nov., 1745.—MS.

hams, to whom he now professed devotion. He did not expect regular letters from the Duke ; Mr. Stone's head and hand under his chief's direction would quite suffice for him. His dislike of the Scotch amounted to fanaticism. He was all against raising loyal Highlanders. He hoped and believed that those to whom money was given for that purpose might put it in their pockets and not raise a man. If they gave way to importunities and jobs upon this occasion, they would have a rebellion every seven years. "The French would feed the rebellion only to hinder it from dying of hunger, not enough to make it thrive." It was only to incline us to a negotiation from which at present they thought us wholly averse.

At the head of less than 5,000 men, Charles Edward began his venturesome march southwards, confiding in numerous promises that the English Jacobites would rise in arms to join him ; and by the end of the month Manchester received him with demonstrations of joy. The army under Marshal Wade was still in the north of Yorkshire ; the Duke of Richmond, with some squadrons of cavalry, waited for orders at Lichfield ; and the Duke of Cumberland, with the main body of English and Dutch troops, lay encamped at Stone. On the 1st of December the invaders crossed the Mersey and, under the command of Lord George Murray, out-maneuvred their antagonists, and reached Derby without losing a man. The fact, known in London early on the 6th, spread general consternation, for few believed in the capability of the Guards and Militia stationed at Finchley, to offer any effectual resistance. A run upon the Bank, and a rumour that the King had sent his plate and jewels on board the yacht lying at Tower Stairs, heightened the alarm ; and no one in Government having the self-possession or spirit to give orders, signs of confusion speedily began to spread. Unless overtaken on their forward march by Prince William's army, everyone believed that the Capital must fall. No one dreamed that once within little more than one hundred miles the enemy would retire. Already, however, that decision had been taken, against the wishes equally of the Chevalier and his kilted soldiery. In a council of war the chieftains declared that they had been deceived and deserted by their English allies : and that they would never have come thus far had they not been led to reckon on a general rising of all classes to sustain them. Half incredulous

of their retreat, the inhabitants of London once more breathed freely and tried to forget their fears ; the King declared that he was ready to take command of his Finchley Corps ; and the Secretary of State resumed his official lucubrations on all manner of ordinary affairs as if nothing perilous had happened. By Christmas Day the misguided Celts had recrossed the Solway and made their way back to Glasgow, where they were ill-received. *

Confidence in the summary repression of revolt was staggered once more by the sanguinary defeat of Hawley's numerous and well-appointed force at Falkirk. Regiments honoured for their courage at Dettingen, and endurance at Fontenoy, turned and fled before the fierce onrush of the Highlanders, leaving half their wounded officers on the field. The whole of the baggage, stores, and guns fell into the hands of the rebels, and the luckless General was only able to palliate the shame of his discomfiture by ascribing it to the tempest and darkness which prevailed during the brief encounter.¹

Attempts were made to represent the affair as a drawn battle, confirmed by the fact that while Hawley fell back on Linlithgow, the Chevalier, instead of re-entering Edinburgh, withdrew towards Stirling, still held for King George. His faith in his fortune was already giving way. Help from France was more than ever doubtful ; succours being intercepted by the vigilance of the English cruisers ; and adhesions from the chiefs who had wavered which side they would join, ceased from the day he had been compelled to recross the Border.

The Duke of Cumberland, Commanding-in-Chief, was reinforced at Holyrood by the regiments from Holland, and he marched without delay to relieve Stirling. Perth was likewise occupied, and the disheartened Clans continued their retreat northwards. The Pretender was joined at Inverness by new levies : Lady Macintosh and Lady Seaforth leading their devoted bands, while their husbands were professing fidelity to King George in the quarters of Lord Loudoun and President Forbes. It is a fair wind, however, that ruffles nobody's hair. After recounting the items of news that gladdened the end of the year, the fretful Secretary of State complained in folio to his cheerful correspondent at Dublin that, notwithstanding all this, they

¹ 17th January, 1746.

the intended invasion from France was for the present laid aside.

From Richmond he received a prompt reply of approval, and an avowal of his purpose to follow their example as soon as he came to town. Bedford, Gower, and Pembroke offered to retire, and thereupon Devonshire, Grafton, and Winnington did the same.

What was exactly expected to ensue from this concerted demonstration is unknown; perhaps no two of those engaged in it were quite agreed as to the probable results. But if refusal of their scheme to tack on certain patches of fresh colour to the hem of power was to be held forth as a cause of its abandonment, would it not be well to make sure of all the credit and benefit derivable from such a proceeding?¹ The Pelhams clearly thought so; and accordingly Harrington was authorised to arrange a meeting at his house on the following day for the ratification of a compact with the Pitt and Grenville section, theretofore understood rather than definitely reduced to form. Newcastle lamented his inability to realise the expectations hitherto held out, but offered to engage for himself and colleagues not to retain or reaccept office without the friends of Cobham, if a pledge were distinctly given on their part to stand by their allies in or out of place. The Chancellor, he said, was decidedly of that opinion, and had both suggested and warmly recommended the measure of a general resignation. He then put the question, "Will Lord Cobham and his friends adhere to us in and out of Court, if we engage never to negotiate with the Court without including him and all his friends?" Cobham confessed the proposition was so handsome, he could not as a man of honour refuse giving it his hearty assent. The compact thus made, and the union cemented between the Parliamentary parties, no further cause for hesitation existed about breaking up the Administration; and to the probable surprise of their antagonists, two-thirds of the Cabinet resigned. The threat of withdrawal by the Pelhams had not dismayed the King, nor that of Hardwicke his favourite advisers; that of Harrington and Richmond gave him no concern. Devonshire and Chesterfield, it was believed, would remain, and Bedford, if promoted, might be beguiled into staying, with Sandwich and Gower as adherents. A general defection of rank and talent from Whitehall was a

¹ 10th February, 1746, from Goodwood.

contingency not provided for ; and the next two days were consequently spent in excited conference and alternate adoption and abandonment of rash resolves.¹

Bath kissed hands as First Lord of the Treasury, and both seals of Secretary of State were given to Granville, one for himself, and the other for whom he would. Carlisle became Privy Seal, and Winchilsea was reappointed to the Admiralty. Chief Justice Wells declined the Great Seal, and Sir John Barnard the Exchequer, which was offered to Sir John Rushout.

In the premature flush of triumph Granville and Bath threw away the opportunity of regaining the Cobham party, and enlisting the ability and ambition of Pitt. Had they offered him the seals of the Northern Department before the lesser bidding had been accepted on his behalf by Cobham, while Lyttelton and George Granville were appropriately placed, it is possible that Chesterfield also would have joined the new combination ; and whatever doubt might have existed as to the number of votes they could count on in one or two critical divisions in a moribund Parliament, they would clearly have had the advantage of better and brighter resources in debate than their rivals. Chesterfield loved Pitt as little as they did ; but he was a Stanhope, and Pitt's aunt Lucy was the wife of his cousin, the victor of Almenara, the Statesman whose repute almost alone had survived the troubles and disasters of the previous reign. With all his pretension to elevated motives, it is clear that constancy in party ties was with him, as with most of his contemporaries, an unknown quality. On receipt of the first intimation of important changes, Chesterfield was unable to make up his mind whether to hold on or to resign. He had already suggested both the policy of taking in Pitt and the policy of having nothing to do with him. Had he been on the spot during the crisis, he would doubtless have offered to explain away the inconsistency. But a nine day course of post between London and Dublin saved him the trouble. Left to themselves, the would-be Cabinet-makers were blinded by their resentment at the ruthless attacks of Pitt when he was dropped by them in 1742, and even in forgiving mood they looked upon him as rather desirable than essential in Coalition. In their overweening self-importance they allowed the occasion to slip, with-

¹ Almon, I., Chapter VII.

out paying him the compliment of saying he must be a Cabinet Minister. Whatever their immediate purpose had come to, it may be taken for granted that after such an offer the most self-worshipping of men would never have listened to anything less, and the whole course of Ministerial life during the next ten years would have been different. If? But what is the use of ifs? Folly and fate will have their way, and the historian can only gather and chronicle their doings.

Pembroke, in giving up his key as Groom of the Stole, assigned for reason his want of confidence in the new Ministers, and drew, it was said, very unsavourable portraits of both, dwelling on their personal unpopularity. When Winnington came to resign the Pay Office, he was offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer with the Leadership of the Commons, for which his experience and facility in debate were said to qualify him; but his health was already giving way; his faith in party combination was dead; and, despite many flattering assurances, he told the King that the proposed Ministry could neither support him or themselves. It grew hourly more and more clear that on the new lines the ship of State could not be constructed; and next morning Granville waited on his Majesty, and told him that they were able to count on but eighty votes certain in the Lower House, and half that number in the Upper; in short, it would not do. Surprised and disappointed, George II. was unable to conceal his alarm. For the first time, in words not obscurely traceable to one deeply concerned in the issue, "the King had discovered his own insignificancy. He found that the assurances of men without alliances were no support to a Sovereign, and that if a Prince would be maintained in Royalty he must take those into his service who have the greatest influence amongst his subjects: for a King without his people is either more than he ought to be or less than he should be."¹

The words in print are the words of Almon, but the voice unmistakable is that of Pitt.

After some deliberation, his Majesty sent again for Winnington, and told him he should have the honour of the reconciliation, and sent him to Pelham to say he wished him to resume office. Cholmondeley was to have been the other Secretary,

and Bolton, as his father had been, Governor of Ireland, Portland being made Master of the Horse.

During the brief interruption it was a joke that one could not safely walk the streets at night for fear of being pressed for the Cabinet.¹

Bath was much chagrined at his failure, but Granville was not to be disconcerted, and laughed on.

The Secretaryship for Scotland was again suppressed, and Pitt was made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, which gave him no political influence whatever. It was felt, however, that this would accomplish nothing. Soon after, on the death of Winnington, he was made Postmaster-General, without a seat in the Cabinet.

When he knelt to kiss hands on his first appointment, the King was observed to shed tears of mortification at being obliged to recognise the tribune who had for years sought popularity in season and out of season by denouncing the name of Hanover. George II. submitted sullenly. How could he suppose that the orator would in a few months endeavour to efface the recollection of his invectives, and that in a few years he would become the most daring and devoted advocate of offensive and defensive identity of England with Hanover? Pitt set himself to vindicate his appointment by retrenching abuses that had grown up in the Department. It had been customary at the Pay Office to invest the money provided by the Treasury for current expenses in the name of the Chief of the Department in public securities, and to lodge the dividends accruing therefrom to his personal account. This often made a very considerable addition to his emolument, but hitherto it had never been publicly acknowledged. One of the first official acts of Pitt was to make an order that the cash balances should, as they accrued, be paid into the Bank of England, and from time to time be drawn against, without deduction, for the public service. Another usage long existing in the office was to charge, as a perquisite of the Paymaster-General, half per cent. on all subsidies to be transmitted through him to foreign Courts.

These had of late been greatly increased, and the deduction, especially in time of war, amounted to several thousands a year

¹ Sir J. Grey, in Grantham Papers.

but these likewise the new Paymaster declined to appropriate as his predecessors had done, and remitted the grants of Parliament, without diminution, to the Governments of the allies. When the King of Sardinia was told this, he desired his Minister in England to pay him an equivalent sum in acknowledgment of conduct so disinterested. Pitt consistently declined acceptance, with the expression of a hope that his refusal would not be misunderstood, but he could not think himself justified in alienating any portion of the grants in question from the purpose for which they were intended. Unused to such forbearance, Charles Emmanuel is said to have exclaimed : "England has got a Minister who is more or less than a man." Excuses are sometimes made for the "Great Commoner," as he wished to be called, taking a subordinate place while refused a share in the direction of affairs. The truth seems to be that he had grown weary of equerry functions at Leicester House, and disenchanted with the illusion of heading an effective Opposition. The legacy of the Duchess of Marlborough was not enough to tempt him to marry, because not enough to support the social obligations it entailed. The collapse of the Jacobite revolt, and the attempt to form an alternative Cabinet, admonished him against peremptorily exacting the recognition of his due ; but the King had no longer a rival for the Crown, and the Pelhams had no longer competitors for the Government.

The former Ministry resumed its duties with some alterations. Pitt, as Paymaster-General, was made a Privy Councillor; Yonge Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland with Lord Cholmondeley, and Henry Fox became Secretary-at-War. In Scotland, Lord Stair was given the command, and in the Netherlands it was conferred on Sir J. Ligonier, the son of a French refugee. Greater vigour was promised in the prosecution of the war ; and much greater had palpably become indispensable if Holland was to be saved from the fate of Flanders and Brabant, for while these had been drained of garrisons to quench rebellion in Scotland, town after town had been forced to surrender, and Marshal Saxe was able quarters all through the winter and spring in the neighbourhood of Brussels, Bruges, and Antwerp. Pelham asked Parliament once more for liberal votes in taxes and loans, to which no serious objection was made, increasing

the total charge for the year to £7,063,250, the permanent debt being £56,000,000. But when the new Secretary-at-War proposed to augment the Hanoverian troops in British pay from sixteen to eighteen thousand men, and the new Paymaster-General, who had first made himself formidable by denouncing that unpatriotic force, was found supporting it, the faith of the most credulous adherents of Opposition died within them ; and Bath more than ever repented that he had left the House of Commons. Chesterfield set about sowing distrust between the brothers and their new adherents. Prefacing his Machiavellian hints to the Duke by insisting that what he was about to say should go to no mortal living but his brother, he proceeded to discount the value of the new auxiliaries, and to discuss how they might be dealt with : “ I am far from thinking your difficulties are at an end, by your taking in the persons you mention. You will find they will not cement well with your old people, who are in truth jealous of them and not of the Tories. They were never alarmed really at the Tories, whose inefficiency and insignificancy in business they well knew, but only dreaded the talents and efficiency of Pitt and that set, who, they knew, if joined with you, would either have the lead given them or would take it. In that they judged right, and you will find that will be the case. They will be for directing ; Cobham will put them upon it ; and if there is any considerable party left for them to retreat to, they will be eternally threatening you with such a retreat. What convinces me the more of this intention is Cobham’s cheerful and willing exclusion of the Tories, for whom he was always the great stickler. Consider therefore whether you should leave them this resource, or whether you should not rather engage as many of the Tories on your side as to leave the rest only a fraction, or, if you will, a faction. You will find your own people much easier about the Tories when Pitt, the Tory they feared, is not in. But I promise you he will not be easy till he is Secretary-at-War, and Dick Grenville of the Treasury. Jemmy Grenville’s £1,000 a year was dirtily asked and prudently granted, but that won’t do, and Dick’s Treasury is the tender and favourite point. Should you not, in these difficulties, strengthen Gower’s hands^A to assist you as much as ever you can ? You may depend on him, and I would be bound for him, which in these times I would be for very few people”

Might not Argyll and Marchmont be drawn into connection by place or the promise of it ; and as " Somebody had been indulged with his two Finches," had they not better be transferred from the backstairs to posts equally good at Whitehall, where they could not overhear and see all that was said and done ? " Whatsoever disagreeable things have to be done ought to be done while victory is fresh, and Somebody as sore as he could be. Tearing open an old sore a year hence will be much more disagreeable to both. When that work is once over, would it be amiss for you to cultivate Lady Yarmouth more than you have hitherto done ? She certainly can give good or bad impressions in the many hours' conversation she has ; for even the wisest man is like the Chameleon. You need not invite me to England ; I have had enough of Royalty, God knows ; and your return of my Bills from the Council determined mine to England. I will hurry them through the Parliament as soon as possible, and then in a most gracious speech prorogue it."¹

Trouble was not yet over in Scotland. Prince William still shrank from indiscriminate acts of repression. In remote glens the people were still Jacobites, but south of Clyde and Forth they were predominantly loyal. Disaffection lingered where the partisans of Government were few, and how to deal with the state of things Newcastle knew not. The cynical Governor of Ireland had no such hesitation : " Why not put a price upon their heads, and then they would bring in and destroy one another. There is already a price on the Pretender's head, who is the only one amongst them to be pitied. I would forbid provisions of any kind being sent upon any pretence, unless directly to the Duke's army, and I would starve the loyal with the disloyal, if the former thought proper to remain with the latter. I have flatly refused permission to ship provisions from Ireland, and have taken effectual care that the loyalist Highlander shall not have an oat-cake from hence. While that favourable distinction remains of loyal and disloyal, the Rebellion will never be extinguished. Recall your Scotch heroes ; starve the whole country indiscriminately by your ships ; put a price upon the heads of the chiefs, and let the Duke put all to fire and sword."²

To keep the King in tolerable humour, the Earl had no

¹ From Dublin Castle, 27th February, 1746.—MS.

² Ibid., 11th, 20th March, 1746.—MS.

scruple in framing what he called ostensible despatches, which omitted what he most wished to say. On a matter of some importance he tells Newcastle that he "sent an ostensible letter, such as it was, to lay before Somebody ; he had calculated it as well as he could for the purpose, though possibly he might have failed. He was very sorry that the custom had prevailed for some time of showing that Person all the intercepted letters ; it must frequently have very ill effects, and he should think that upon some occasions they might be sunk, and couriers might be supposed to have lost them."¹ Newcastle did not venture to publicly endorse his Excellency's murderous counsels, and his official instructions to the Duke were as usual verbose and vague, but a curious letter of even date was evidently meant as a qualifying interpretation.

"To be opened by H.R.H. (most private).

"The apprehension I am under that the answer I have the honour to send your Royal Highness by the King's commands to your letter of the 15th may not be so satisfactory as I could wish everything to be that passes through my hands obliges me to give you this trouble, to acquaint you that upon the most mature consideration it has been found impracticable to give any more particular direction than is therein contained. Your Royal Highness knows how delicate the point is, and consequently how difficult it is to give any general order upon it. I know your zeal for the King, devotion to his service, and detestation of this Rebellion will not suffer you to omit anything that may be necessary for putting a speedy end to it. At the same time, I should be wanting in my duty did not I equally depend that you will not give any just cause of complaint to a country so ill-disposed to the King, and so willing to find fault with everything that is done for his Majesty's service. I hope you will take this hint, as the effect of my duty and regard to you.

"I put myself entirely in your power, and write in my own illegible hand for the greater secrecy."²

His Royal Highness thanked the Secretary of State for his private prompting, and though he could have wished that the King's order had been fuller, yet he took the hint, and would do all in his power to put an end to the insurrection. He believed

¹ 20th March, 1746.—MS.

² March, 1746.—MS

the *éclat* of it was over, but really thought that there was such seed left of it that God knew how soon it might break out again. For the reassurance of his Ministerial prompters, he proceeds to sharpen the axe of vengeance. "He was sorry to say that though all the country was as ill-inclined as possible, the managers of that part of the Kingdom had made it, if possible, worse, by putting all the power of the Crown into the most disaffected hands for the sake of elections." Were he to enumerate all the villains and villainies the country abounded in, he should never have done; in short, there did not remain the least vestiges of any government throughout the whole. The Hessians behaved sadly, which was all owing to Crawford and the Scotch, who had their ear. He made his compliments to Mr. Pelham; and did not imagine that threatening military executions and many other such things was pleasing to do, but nothing would go down without it in that part of the world."¹ There were not wanting many advocates of unsparing retribution, even amongst those whose standard of moral and social duty differed in almost every respect from that professed by men in executive power. "Might not the escape of the rebels unchastised be attended with inconceivable mischief? Would it not encourage the nation in general, which must be much discouraged if these few sons of rapine be not strenuously hunted down?" "Might not some good use be made of the zeal of thousands of able-bodied men in different stations, who would gladly learn discipline and serve on occasion near home, if properly authorised under gentlemen of approved attachment to the Government? Perhaps ten thousand such might be raised in this country, who, though not to be depended upon as regular forces, might, on an exigence, do something, and by their numbers greatly discourage an enemy, without any expense to the public. . . . The signs of the times seem to call loudly for the exertion of the Supreme Power to suppress vice and profaneness, and for the public counsels to find out a more effectual method of doing it. This, I am sorry to say, makes the British forces infamous beyond most in the world."² But the day of a

¹ H.R.H. Duke of Cumberland to Secretary of State, from Aberdeen, 4th April, 1746.—MS.

² Dr. Doddridge to Secretary of State, 8th December, 1745, quoted by Warrington.—"Hist. Nonconformist."

national defensive force combining all classes of volunteers had not come, and even the substitution of militia for regiments of the line was looked upon as a dangerous alternative.

At length the decisive news arrived of Culloden, and the *Gazette* of the 23rd of April announced the defeat and dispersion of the clans. The tenacity with which to the last they clung to the cause of the banished dynasty, and, when the issue was no longer doubtful, continued to engage their better fed, better armed, and better officered antagonists, caused a passing shudder, less of pity than of anger. Sandwich, writing from the Admiralty to his chief at Woburn, dwells only on the circumstance as remarkable that the havoc made among the rebels was not by keeping them off by our fire, but by receiving them with the bayonets, which did great execution. The butchery of carnage in pursuit was yet to come, but Government already knew on the 24th of April that after the battle the vanquished had scattered and fled to their homes, throwing down their arms ; "our men giving little quarter, so that upwards of a thousand were killed."¹

Two days later brought further particulars of the ghastly tale. Two thousand five hundred perished on the field and a thousand more in the pursuit.² Others who were more or less in the secret divulged by degrees more of the truth. A Junior Lord of the Admiralty, writing to his chief at Bath, says, "An express has just come from the Duke of C., the contents will be in the *Gazette*, only that the loss of the rebels is more than will be published, for what reason I cannot tell. It amounts to near four thousand men."³

Great exultation burst forth at the news of Culloden. The Archbishop issued a thanksgiving to be used in the churches, and on subsequent tidings of the numbers slain in the pursuit, the Master of the Horse gave vent to his joy "that so many villains were destroyed ; indeed, the rope must finish those that had escaped with their lives, else they would deserve to have all this over again."⁴

The young commander may not have been given to the study

¹ Sandwich to Bedford from Admiralty, 24th April, 1746.

² Stone to Bedford, 26th April, 1746.

³ Barrington from the Admiralty, 26th April, 1746.

⁴ Richmond, 27th April, 1746.—MS.

of Judaic maxims in war, but he was resolved to keep clear of the sin of Saul. Ere the dead in fight were hid beneath the sod, he was preparing to realise the fruits of victory, and sought to prepare the Cabinet for the exercise of the discretion with which they had clothed him. On the 30th April he wrote to Newcastle, "I now hope this affair is almost over with regard to the military operations, but the Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted that the present generation must be pretty well wore out before the country will be quiet." He hoped that members of both Houses would put up with the inconveniences of a summer Session, which would be absolutely necessary for the almost total change of the constitution of Scotland. "Lord President has joined me (on the morrow of Culloden), and as yet we are vastly fond of one another, but I fear it will not last, as he is as arrant Highland mad as Lord Stair or Crawford. He wishes for lenity, if it can be with safety, which he thinks, but I don't, for he really thinks that when once they are dispersed, it is of no worse consequence than a London mob. They are now dispersed all over this kingdom at their own homes, and nobody meddles with them except I send a military force after them. I have got the Lord President to direct Sir E. Faulkner in the drawing up of a proclamation requiring of all the civil magistrates to exert themselves in order that these dispersed rebels may be brought to justice; but as one half the magistracy have been either aiders or abettors to this Rebellion, and the other dare not act through fear of offending their own chiefs or of paining their own cousins, I hope for little from them."¹

Lest he should relax, or be troubled with compunctions visitings, his Cabinet mentor took care to tell him that "his noble notions and wise measures were, if possible, more extraordinary and more meritorious than his wonderful success over the rebel force in the field."²

Newcastle, as he himself boasted, had the good fortune, in a very distinguishing manner, to make his court to the King by doing what was most agreeable to himself—proposing a grant of £40,000 a-year, £15,000 from the Privy Purse, to the Duke and his heirs male. Their new paymaster, Mr. Pitt, had distinguished himself by his forwardness upon this occasion, and had been of

¹ To Secretary of State from Inverness. Received 30th April, 1746.—MS.

² Newcastle to Cumberland, 30th April, 1746.—MS.

great use to them. The King insisted on his moving the vote in the Commons, which he readily agreed to do. But Pelham thought the honour should be his.¹

¹ To H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, 30th April, 1746.—MS.

The waters were no doubt tolerably tranquil ; still it is somewhat curious to find the helmsman off from the ship boating, and only wishing to be signalled back if he should be wanted, especially when he sometimes thought her course pointed to windward : " I received the letters from Claremont this morning, and joining to those of yesterday, must own I think they have a bad aspect. Sandwich is too peremptory with the French Minister, but I conclude he has orders for what he does. As Lord Chancellor does not come to town till this evening, I conclude I shall not be wanted till to-morrow."

The name of John Byng, whose subsequent fate occupies a tragic place in naval history, now first demands our notice. Had Byng lived in other days he would certainly have been said to have been born under an unlucky star. His family connection secured him a commission in the cradle ; and his father's name lent a presage of early promotion, if not of distinction. But nature was not in the plot, and if his temper was yielding and generous, he was singularly wanting in the faculties of command. Brave with his back to the wall and incapable of shabbiness, he did not know the meaning of dash, and when action was imperative it only occurred to him that he ought to confer. His cousin, when First Lord of the Admiralty in 1746, sought to give him an opportunity of distinction, and thereby tempted him into the path that ended in his ruin. Government had received a pressing request from the King of Sardinia that a senior officer should be sent to take command of the Squadron off Toulon, meant to co-operate with his troops invading Provence ; and the First Lord of the Admiralty took Byng from a court-martial, on which he was sitting at Greenwich, and sent him at a few hours' notice over land to join the Mediterranean fleet. The benefit of a relative in office could no further go. But a private letter of acknowledgment from the ill-fated victim of Ministerial favour unfolds the sad secret of his doom. In the agony of a great war, chosen above his fellows to hold aloft the flag of his country, uncompetitive valedictorian Byng could only say, " I am greatly obliged to your Grace for this honour, and the confidence you have put in me ; and I hope I shall behave in such a manner, that you will not repent the choice you have made. I do not think myself equal to the task I am going to undertake. I can only assure your

Grace that nothing shall be wanting in me to forward his Majesty's service all that lays in my power. The only difficulty that I have at present is the being sent away at so short a warning, to find my way to Genoa by land, a road I have never been; and I am told I shall find it extremely cold before I get to my journey's end; my only fear is I shall be laid up upon the road, for I have now upon me the remains of the gout I brought with me from Scotland."¹ Had Bedford been a true friend he would have been warned by this confession of helplessness to leave the Admiral in peace in Mayfair, and to appoint Saumarez, who had captured a French frigate off Plymouth, or Commodore Osborn, who was actually suggested for the post by one of the Junior Lords.

Pelham had more conscience than courage. No deeper, but more calm than his brother's, his mind reflected with more provoking clearness the blunders and jobs which the petulance and paltriness of the Duke obscured from himself but not from others; the old fraternal jealousy was incessantly ruffling their intercourse, nobody could tell why or for what; but the inap-pesable lust of pettifogging power made Newcastle continually usurp the initiative that properly belonged to the head of the Treasury; and when he could not do so, led him perversely to withhold his executive aid in matters of inferior or casual moment. Pelham found it useless to argue, and being by temperament averse from wrangling, let things often drift rather than prolong altercation. As a last resource, he took the strange method of expostulating by letter to Andrew Stone, who knew everything, much as an amiable, but desponding husband, would appeal to a sensible unmarried sister to bring his termagant wife to reason. There is something ineffably feeble and foolish in the following: "I won't enter into disputes and altercations as to what passed the other day at Newcastle House. You were an eye and ear witness of all. I am sorry when it happens; I do what I can to conquer my own weaknesses, but when that is known to my brother, and instead of his trying to co-operate with that resolution of mine, he is endeavouring upon every occasion to divert it, I must conclude that he does not desire it; and that it is a greater pleasure to him to put me in the wrong for an

¹ From Berkeley Square, 25th October, 1746.

Meuse, Bergen-op-Zoom was beleagured and taken, and Holland lay at the mercy of Louis XIV.

Was this the end for which ten years' revenue of the nation had been spent in advance, and for the sake of which every hope of internal amelioration and progress had been laid aside ! After all the French King showed little disposition to insist on the retention of his conquest, and lost no time in conveying an intimation that he was ready to retire within his ancient limits, if only the English Government would not persist in enforcing the utter destruction of the harbour of Dunkirk, but if that devoted haven was suffered to remain as it then stood, all he would demand was the restitution of Cape Breton. The Cabinet deliberated without deciding, and weighed each consideration wistfully, without coming to any agreement or ceasing to waver. "We have meeting upon meeting," wrote Pelham, "and our whole time is taken up in defending and blaming without taking any determinate measure of, for, or against."¹ The naval successes of Warren, Anson, and Hawke redeemed several disasters by land ; and the overtures for peace were rejected. When some stray questioner who happened to have a constituency and a conscience asked what had become of the millions voted to subsidise foreign Courts, the old answer was repeated : that true patriotism consisted in making the best of disasters, and true constancy in persevering undismayed to the end. Nor was this mere rhetoric. Further sums of money were voted during the Session of 1747 for the old purpose, no fewer than 30,000 Russians being taken into pay.

The best thing done was the suppression, at the instance of Hardwicke, of the heritable jurisdictions in the Highlands, which gave to each chieftain practically irresponsible powers of life and death over his clan ; and thereby made it possible for dynastic or religious fanaticism to kindle at any moment throughout the wide range of mountainous country the torch of civil war. Without any voice or influence worthy of the name in the united Parliament at Westminster, without the presence or protection of a numerous middle class, and without the tribuneship of journalism to make known what took place, the peasantry were absolutely at the beck and call, for good or evil, of the illiterate and needy owners of the soil. Individual grievances

¹ To H. Walpole the elder, 30th June, 1747.

and hardships were for the most part endured in silence, or casually resented in desperate crime; and if now and then the attention of a courtier or Minister was called to a state of things so barbarous, it evoked no other sentiment than one of supercilious pity or aversion. The only question discussed in Committee on the Bill was the amount of compensation to be given for the loss of privileges highly valued, though not intrinsically valuable. Scotch Peers and Members claimed for their kindred thus deprived above half a million sterling, which Government led Parliament to reduce to a third of that amount.

Unfortunately, the statute assimilating so far the principles of criminal jurisdiction was accompanied by a step in administrative centralisation, wanton and unwise in itself, and naturally hurtful to the feelings of a people whose civil wounds were hardly cold. Lord Tweeddale was forced to give up the Secretaryship for Scotland, and it was announced that no one would be named in his room. It took one hundred and forty years of intermittent grumbling to obtain once more the reappointment of a Secretary for North Britain.

If negotiations were entrusted to him, Prince William desired to have the credit of bringing to an end a struggle in which he no longer hoped to win renown, and of which he knew his father was grown tired. The Cabinet naturally shrank from confiding an issue difficult and complex to his inexperienced hand. Chesterfield and Pelham would have been willing to run the risk, relying on their means of guiding and controlling the course of affairs. Hardwicke and Newcastle reasonably demurred, and were supported by the rest of the Cabinet. The offer of his Royal Highness, though in general terms accepted, was practically qualified by the proposal to send Sandwich to act in all things with him. The Earl found himself entangled in a web of instructions, while the power to act energetically was withheld. He was discontented at the want of confidence shown him, and by the appointment of Dayrolles as a special envoy, which he regarded as the "first step towards driving him out of the Commission."¹ Newcastle said Hardwicke had done like an angel, but without avail. England was so weary of the war, and the Dutch were so willing to compromise with

¹ To Bedford, 29th August, 1747.

possessed^{*} three hundred pounds a year. To establish permanently an effective militia throughout the Kingdom ; to exclude all officers in the army under the rank of Colonel, and in the navy that of Rear-Admiral, from the House of Commons ; to inquire into all official abuses, and that the Heir Apparent, on ascending the Throne, should never accept for his Civil List more than £800,000 a-year. The original terms of this paper were agreed to by the Prince in conference with Lords Baltimore and Talbot, Sir Francis Dashwood, and Dr. Lee. The leading champions of his cause in the Lower House were Lord Perceval, now Earl of Egmont, Bub Dodington, Lords Middlesex and A. Hamilton, and Sir J. Hynde Cotton, who had migrated from the old to the young Court, and Sir John Phillips, Nugent, M.P. for Bristol, and Dr. Lee. Above all, his Royal Highness had for the first time the unreserved advantage of Lord Bath's experience and thirst for retribution for his recent ostracism.

On this ill-joisted raft it was doubtless hoped to press men of uncongenial disaffections. Dr. Lee, it was imagined, would draw members of his own profession who despaired of briefs ; and Sir F. Dashwood squires from Bucks and Oxon who rode well to hounds. Baltimore would rally some of the Catholic nobility, and Talbot not a few disappointed Peers and younger brothers who were tired of waiting for their turn of Court favour. The claim of the squirearchy to be justices of the quorum as matter of right was thought to be a cunning stroke, setting up the Knightly order against the exclusive patricians, while the numerous classes that smarted under increasing taxation would readily embark in any craft, however crazy, that held out retrenchment for a flag. Through want of organisation, however, the plausible design, like others that had preceded it, remained unrealised until its authors had lost faith in one another's ability and zeal ; and there was no one in the confidence of the Heir Apparent strong enough to lead or drag subordinate agencies into persistent co-operation.

On the eve of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, all advices, civil and military, from Holland describe the plight of the exhausted Commonwealth as deplorable. Legge, on his way to Berlin, had tarried at the Hague long enough to imbibe the general conviction that the war could not go on. Effect could not have fallen shorter of expectation if we had tied ourselves

fast to a corpse, and called it our ally. Men, money, and resolution were the three trifles wanting, and barring those deficiencies, everything was in an admirable posture for making a vigorous defence.¹ The levity of tone recalls the flippancy of Craggs, who was in some sort the ante-type of Legge; and the characteristic seems to have been as abiding throughout every turn of official fortune.

The beginning of April brought despatches from Cumberland and Sandwich which filled with dismay the Members of Government remaining in town. Maestricht was invested by Saxe with eighty thousand men, while the Allies could not muster half that number for its relief; and when it fell, the confines of the Seven Provinces would lie bare to the invader. In great alarm, Newcastle betook himself to Powis House for counsel, and to St. James's for such comfort as the Duke of Dorset could afford. It was agreed to frame instructions to the hitherto hopeful plenipotentiary to come to the best terms he could get from St. Severin; and Bedford wrote privately from Woburn avowing his deep disappointment at discovering too late how unreal in all material respects had proved the boastful promises of the Dutch, and how much lower than our own was their financial condition. Between the lines it is plain enough to read how mortified the writer felt at finding how long and how far he had been blindfolded in the Cabinet, and how pressing was the need of extrication of the country from the drain and discredit of a disastrous war.

George II. would not wait for a tide to make his escape from Harwich to his ancestral home, and his nervous Secretary of State, who hated a sea voyage and dreaded bad times on the road, was obliged to accompany him. During their absence the Chancellor, First Lord of the Treasury, Privy Seal and the Junior Secretary of State, as members of the Board of Regency, exercised the whole powers of Government; but when, in July, it came to finally discussing and deciding on the *litera scripta* of a general treaty of peace, Pelham suggested that they should meet twice a week at Powis House or Downing Street, and that the Dukes of Argyll and Dorset at least should be summoned,²—other Members being probably at a distance from town.

¹ 17th March, 1748.

² H. Pelham to Bedford, July, 1748.

despised element which, duly rectified, would become celebrity, and more than money, office, rank, or influence—the *toad-star* of his life. Ordinary arguments for the grant to Glasgow were for him hardly worth using, but could he not imagine precedents and invent reasons that would sound original, that at every dinner-table, and in every coffee-house, would be repeated, and from their nature could not be refuted, but which would serve to remind people that he was, after all, an extraordinary man? With the gravity of a judge, he cited a case in point that none of his hearers had ever heard of before. A certain great man, when he heard in 1688 that the Prince of Orange was coming with 30,000 men, doubted whether such a force was adequate to effect a revolution; when, somewhat later, he was told that he had with him but half that force, he thought the Stadholder must have substantial grounds for reckoning on support; but when news came that but 5,000 Dutchmen had landed at Torbay, he was convinced that the enterprise would succeed. The shrewd men of Glasgow reasoned in like manner on the paucity of the Highland army, and might have patriotically feared that a great part of England was ready to rise and welcome them; the danger passed, they might speak freely of the apprehensions at the time. "When we consider that the rebels marched through one half of England without any opposition from the Militia; that even in their retreat, though pursued by the regular forces, they met with no local obstruction, we cannot with any justice blame the south or west of Scotland for not opposing them with their Militia. I believe that the spirit in England was sincere and true in favour of the Government. Yet I am afraid that if the rebel leader could have persuaded his people to have ventured a battle against the Duke in Staffordshire, or to have given him the slip, and marched towards London, and fought a battle near the City, the fate of England would have depended upon its issue; for if they had obtained a victory I question much if the spirit of the populace would not soon have taken a very different turn."¹ One can imagine with what opposite feelings expressions like these were heard by new Whig colleagues and old Jacobite allies, and how their recital tended to inflame antipathy and distrust in the Royal mind.

* Pelham was chiefly occupied in the elaboration of plans for

¹ 21st April, 1749.

the reduction of debt, and in resisting fresh schemes continually, cropping up, for useless expenditure abroad. To please the Court, his brother proposed in Cabinet a subsidy of half a million to the Elector of Saxony, which the First Lord stoutly resisted, and succeeded in having laid aside. Thirty-four thousand seamen and Marines, besides 20,000 regulars, were paid off in the course of the year, greatly to the disgust of Prince William, who was never tired of speculating on the future contingencies of war. The greatest measure ascribable to the matter-of-fact zeal of Pelham for economy was the reproduction of Sir John Barnard's proposition, in a modified form, for reducing the interest on the Public Debt from four to three per cent. When first brought forward, Walpole had induced the House to reject it, disdaining, as he said, to court popularity by endorsing the hopes held out by its author that in a short time it would enable them greatly to benefit the industrious classes by repealing the duties on coals, candles, soap, leather, and other articles of daily use. The debt had increased since then from £50,000,000 to £78,000,000, yet the abundance of money had so increased that Government could raise any amount at three per cent. The State was prosperous, and, compared with other countries, wages were high, and life comparatively easy. He proposed an option of four per cent. stock of three-and-a-half per cent. for seven years, with a guarantee against being paid off in that time, and after 1757 that the interest should be reduced to three per cent.; but while admitting that the Excise and Customs were higher than could be wished, he refused to hold out any prospect of immediate reductions, and relied, as his predecessors had done, from time to time, on having sufficient balances in hand for the purposes of conversion by resort to the Sinking Fund. He denied, of course, that the scheme was borrowed from that of Glover or of the Member for the City, who, notwithstanding, gave him his support, Dodington and others in Opposition doing the same. But Leicester House was just then afflicted with a low fever of vexation at the election of Newcastle as Chancellor of Cambridge in opposition to the Heir Apparent, and Lord Egmont was induced to deride the substantial nature of the benefits held forth, to dilate upon the inadequacy of the conditions of peace, to deny that trade had improved, and to denounce the payment of interest to foreigners on public securi-

regretted to say, he had long since despaired of bringing into order, for the more that was paid on that account the more in debt it would be. Of the utility of the proposed mission of their volatile friend he had no means of judging, but had he been asked to "price the errand, perhaps he would give him as much money to stay at home."¹ Differences of a like sort in their way of looking at things that had to be paid for would now and then crop up, but it was an aggravation of the affront to ducal infallibility in this particular instance that the gay rhymester was notoriously a boon companion, and something more, of the members of the Party of imperfect formation which Newcastle regarded as gathering strength against him under the patronage of the Commander-in-Chief.

Harrington, who had been a cypher in the Government of Ireland, and who, even less than his predecessors, had spent little time there, had been superseded in April, and he tried in vain to elicit any definite cause or promise of other employment. The truth gradually broke upon his drowsy intelligence that he was laid aside, and without what he called a suitable provision. "His family told him he was cut, and he put many home questions as to the reason why, which Pelham parried as best he could," not caring to wound needlessly an old colleague, but unable to afford him the solace he craved. He desired to know the reason of his disgrace, and only had for answer no new reason, that the First Lord knew. But he pressed to know "whether he was to be turned adrift without any provision, which his circumstances could ill afford."² And this the Finance Minister did not answer.

The Chancellor, as usual, tried to lull the misgivings he knew by experience it was hopeless to expel. He could not perceive any symptoms of manœuvre or intrigue on the part of their suspected colleagues, but he shrewdly judged it better to touch the matter lightly, and pass on friendly inquiries about his over-suspicious Grace by the Princess Amelia when he was last at Windsor Lodge. The favourite daughter of the King lived with her brother, who was Ranger of the Forest, and, being hospitably given, drew round him early friends like Sandwich, Henry Fox, Albemarle, and Hanbury Williams, and somewhat later Bedford

¹ 22nd June, 1750.—MS.

² Pelham to Newcastle, 18th May, 1750 —MS.

and Essex. While in England, the peevish Secretary of State thought himself forgotten ; but when, in his absence, Pelham was not only included in the Prince's circle, but in return actually made H.R.H. a banquet at Claremont, without a word of confidential intelligence on the subject to Hanover, the soul of the Statesman was sorely grieved.

After several weeks of cessation, the old rage and jealousy against Bedford burst forth in a torrent of confidential complaint of seven folio pages, closely written, wholly taken up with the ungrateful and cruel treatment of the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia in persistently giving parties while he was away for the manifest purpose of favouring Bedford and Sandwich to his disadvantage. He was incensed at the cowardice of the Duke of Grafton in being present at these festivities instead of boldly telling their Royal Highnesses how very wrong they were in behaving so. He had borne it meekly thus far, but the time "would, must, and he almost said *should* come when some person must say that this young Prince and his sister were in the wrong. It had been said of greater persons than them."¹

Bedford, in the course of the spring, had received from the naval officer's on the North American coast reports of affronts and encroachments by the French on the station, which at length provoked him to remonstrate somewhat peremptorily with Mirepoix, and communications in consequence took place on the subject, which do not seem to have been promptly forwarded to the other members of the Cabinet. Newcastle, whose means of overlooking the hands of his colleagues were seldom at fault, became aware that something was going on with which he ought to be acquainted, and the importance of which he exaggerated *more suo*, while endeavouring to instil a like jealousy into his brother's mind. Pelham was characteristically bent on making the best of everything, and leaving room for explanation to a colleague neglectful or in fault. He deliberately forbore to ask his colleague what he had been about when he met the French Ambassador at Windsor Lodge. He did not want to give his impetuous Grace a colourable sanction for demanding amends, the refusal of which might lead to open rupture : a contingency of all others to be deprecated ; and he shrewdly divined that, however the vanity of Woburn might like to do a

¹ Newcastle to Pelham, 9th June, 1750.—M.S.

little diplomacy on its own account with Versailles, there was no real danger of its sending orders, without consultation, to fire a shot on the coast of Newfoundland. Pelham had no doubt Bedford would have sent his brother the letters from Nova Scotia, which, he confessed, he didn't like at all. He was far from being well informed himself on the merits of the question, but he thought it was generally understood that they were in the right and the French wholly in the wrong. If so, he wished Cornwallis were strong enough to do himself justice; for he was of opinion if they got the better of the Spaniards without previous concert with France, she would not break with them on that account; but, if they entered into negotiation, they would hardly get off well.¹

When at length the despatches from Governor Cornwallis were forwarded to Hanover, Newcastle wrote, strongly urging a firm tone and the sending what reinforcements might be available to the Colony. He rather approved of Bedford's promptitude in corresponding direct with the English Minister at Paris, under all the circumstances.² Nevertheless, his ill-temper soon broke out afresh; but the First Lord gave no encouragement to his peevishness. He declined to discuss his complaints, and told him that he only hurt himself by indulging them; but it was all to no purpose. A week later he had a fresh philippic from Gördrdt, designed to enlist his susceptibilities against the distrusted colleague. "Nothing that the Duke of Bedford can do will surprise me: otherwise, his conduct at present towards you would do it. To send frequent messengers without your knowing what they carry; to write to Lord Albeinarl on this affair of Nova Scotia without previously consulting you or anybody; and, above all, to act in this affair of the christening (of the young Prince) without talking to any of you, or giving an account of what he had done before he transmitted all to Hanover, is amazing. Dear brother, think what such a man, *so made*, is capable of doing, and then think the *rest*."³

Every day added to his smothered grievances from home. His careful despatches about solemn fiddle-faddle; who should be asked to Royal baptisms at Leicester Fields, or exclusive

¹ To Newcastle, 5th June, 1750.—*MS.*

² To Bedford, 9th June, 1750.—*MS.*

³ To Pelham, 17th June, 1750.—*MS.*

dinners at Windsor Lodge, were left unanswered—even unacknowledged—from Woburn. The cool indifference of his official yokefellow was insufferable; and worst of all was that he could wring not a tear of sympathy from faithless Grafton, judicial Hardwicke, or his own unfeeling brother. Everybody slighted and insulted him; and Lady Yarmouth began to take the *pas* of his Duchess in the Royal circle. His gathering rage sought vent in letters, nine foolscap pages long, to the Chancellor and Pelham.

On midsummer eve, Pitt, feeling himself no doubt very much alone in the twilight, indited a strange effusion of official fidelity to his ducal chief afar off. “He really made a conscience of breaking in upon moments so importantly filled only to renew assurances of a most sincere and perfect attachment, of which he flattered himself his Grace was entirely convinced; and of the satisfaction he felt at the confidential and cordial intercourse between his Grace and Mr. Pelham, who felt and talked of it as could be wished. Might every day confirm that union which could alone form a system of Administration of strength and national credit, sufficient to surmount the difficulties that seemed to threaten in the affair of Nova Scotia; and very alarming, he confessed, it was to him, if France was in earnest to maintain this act of violence.” But as he had not seen the First Lord, and “had not the honour to talk with his Grace’s colleagues on business,” he could only hope the best from diplomatic efforts in hand.¹

Curiously enough, at the very moment of this dream of flattery at Whitehall, the captious Minister was penning at Hanover congratulations to his brother at the complete success of the measures taken by Bedford without their privity or help. After all, he was obliged to own that Albemarle had done so well at Paris before receiving any instructions from him that satisfactory assurances had been obtained from the French Government, and that all was now arranged. Were such unexpectedly happy results likely to smooth the ruffled plumage of the Secretary of State? Quite the contrary. Bedford had made the provoking mistake of showing that he could go alone; that was an indecorum not to be forgiven, and he was accordingly disliked and distrusted more than ever. He had had, beside, nobody to con-

¹ From the Pay Office, 19th June, 1750.—MS.

sult with but Sandwich. If they could still be got rid of, so much the better, but it might be difficult and dangerous; better to bide opportunity, and oust them one by one.

Newcastle summed up the results of his negotiations with the Electors of the German Empire, most of which turned on Treaties of Subsidy and minor gratuities to their respective Ministers. Bavaria held out last, and Count Haslang pressed for the signature by England of the Treaty of Subsidy with his Court for £28,000 a-year, on a verbal promise that the vote of Bavaria should be given for the Archduke Joseph. But Newcastle insisted on a written engagement. His experience in the frailty of electoral memories had taught him that contracts for votes were never so satisfactory as when they were in writing. The amount he thought not worth considering when it was to buy what he called the *éclat* of "making a King of the Romans."

More than usually self-contented with his interpositions in Germany, and with the preservation of peace unbroken with France or Spain, he opened to Hardwicke in a long letter marked "very secret," his desire to give up the Seals and become President of the Council, or Privy Seal. With Bedford affecting the airs of an equal in authority he could not go on, and to drive him out of office was, perhaps, impossible. If he would accept the Presidency of the Council, and agree that someone should be *his* colleague who would show a proper deference to one who had been in the office for twenty years, "that might, perhaps, obviate present difficulties. Sir T. Robinson was such a man, and would do the work punctually and unpretentiously. Chesterfield also would do, or perhaps Granville, of whom old jealousies were dead. But there should be no longer any mistake about his being prime minister or the possibility of anything being done without."¹

On the same day he wrote at equal length to Pitt, the fervency of whose admiration and affection was his sole consolation in sorrow. He had hoped, from some kindly words of his, for a better disposition on the part of his brother, but he was sorry to say his satisfaction had been greatly abated. "I find a great alteration in style and manner; little or no approbation of anything; suspicions and jealousies without the least foundation, and, what is still worse, I can attribute this unaccountable and

¹ To Pelham, 4th July, 1750.—MS.

sudden change to nothing but a confidential letter I wrote him on the public demonstration given by a part of the Royal Family of preference, countenance, and offensive support of that part of Administration which is so universally thought to be in opposition to me ; and I could not but lament the weakness and unkindness of my particular friends who had been drawn in to make part of the show." In his dealings with the Courts of Vienna and Munich, he had punctiliously observed what the rest of the Cabinet wished about Treaties of Subsidy being made to depend on their votes for the proposed King of the Romans, and upon redress of Protestant complaints ; and whoever would deny it, he would say it was as great and successful a negotiation as ever was brought to perfection in time of peace. He proceeded in detail to relate what had been doing, but which had not been appreciated as it deserved, knowing that he could entirely rely on Pitt's affection and discretion to make a good use of it.¹ Language of this kind out of the Cabinet window was all very flattering and friendly, but as yet there was no hint of opening the door ; so Pitt had to take it for what it was worth, and wait. He could only indulge in circumlocutory periods of hope that all fraternal misunderstandings would pass away ; and in sycophantic gratulation on the triumph of recent German diplomacy, "which must redound to his infinite credit and the stability of the best possible system of Administration."² He would not speak of any services he had rendered to party or country. If they did not speak for themselves, they were worth nothing, and if he could make the brothers more easy he would walk barefoot to Hanover to do so. He had advised the First Lord to make friends with the Royal Family, and to bear with Bedford a little longer ; but he did not regard what he said as a friendly opinion, else he would tell him that as he was made he could not serve in any other department than that which he then filled."³ Hardwicke, with more deference, but not less decision, counselled the exacting egotist against attempting any change of offices while abroad. Having drudged in the labourer's office of Chancellor near fourteen years, he had no fondness to keep it longer, especially at near three score. It was a constant

¹ 4th July, 1750.—MS.

² Reply of Pitt, 13th July, 1750.—MS.

³ *Ibid.*

round of the same fatigue. The incentive of ambition was quite over ; the profits of it he did not then want or value, and if he could not have the satisfaction of serving with his friends, he could have nothing to make it tolerable. His opinion was that the public would suffer prodigiously by losing the Duke's services in his present office. If, like Lord Sunderland, he would remove from one office to another, still retaining the character and influence of chief Minister, it would be different ; but in the present case it would be impracticable for his Grace to name his own successor. Those he left behind would not take Sir Thomas Robinson, which would be looked upon as a mortifying stroke to Lord Sandwich ; the King would not take Chesterfield, nor would he serve with Bedford. Hardwicke's opinion was that Granville would be once more sent for. How could Newcastle serve under him, or how could the Party endure it ? For old prejudices were not yet got over. Speaking freely, he must say that in the world it would be said he was quitting the field, leaving complete victory for his adversaries. If he continued at Court in the President's office and saw all the business and power, the access to the Closet, as well as to the other branches of the Royal Family, in other hands, would not this be for him a scene of perpetual uneasiness and tantalisation ? He would never find any relief in relinquishing the Seals to be President of the Council. It never had happened and never would. With regard to an alteration in the manner of the King, if he assumed to himself the sole merit of the measure of electing a King of the Romans, &c., for God's sake let *him* do so ; and flatter him in it. A Prince could not make his Minister a greater compliment than by making his measures his own. As to the *Great Lady*, the account of her behaviour was indeed surprising. It had been for some time a mystery to him. His Grace knew long ago what was his way of thinking about suffering *some other persons* to fall off from him and depending entirely on her. But what was to be done ? He thought there was a prospect of deliverance not very remote though not immediate. He was thoroughly convinced that Pelham was heartily tired of Bedford's mode of conducting his office, and would be glad to find a method to get rid of him. The experience of the Regency must have convinced everyone who attended the Board of the same thing. His unpopularity increased every day, and he was

sensible of it.¹ Newcastle acknowledged this letter to be "as wise and kind as was ever wrote by man, and promised to offend no more."

Murray kept his ducal patron informed of what went on at White's and Lincoln's Inn: who lost money at the former, or who was sick unto death at the latter. His letters kept a wide offing of party shoals and quicksands, but he mentioned incidentally having met Pitt at dinner, and that he seemed in great spirits, but said not a word on public affairs. Bedford seldom attended the Council of Regency, but the shortcomings of the First Lord of the Admiralty were not so clearly defined. Pelham could not bear the renewed symptoms of suspicion on the part of his brother. He was tired, as he said, of "working for thirty years in a shop for whose business he had no real liking; and not seeing the present system of Administration likely to last while he had not the power to repair it, it was not strange that he should wish to be out of it before it tumbled about his ears."² From week to week, however, the First Lord of the Treasury repeated his demurrs to paying any money to their Serene Highnesses of the Diet until their votes were made sure, and with provoking parsimony he objected to subordinate largesses of three or four hundred pounds to their agents.

Lord Dupplin answered inquiries from Hanover as to what was doing at home with reference to American affairs somewhat brusquely. "It was easier to say what Bedford and Sandwich did not do than what they did. They lived in the country, played cricket, rode post to town, looked in at the Regency, and returned the same evening. They were assiduous in making attachments, but with very little success."³

Others complained that Bedford was never in town except on the days when the Council of Regency met; and that they saw nothing of him, and heard nothing from him, except there. He circulated the Duke's letters to members of the Cabinet without comment, and his meaning in making no response to them when his opinion was not asked may have been, as the Chancellor suggested, to avoid sharing responsibility when he had not been consulted.

¹ Hardwicke to Newcastle, 13th July, 1750.—MS.

² 6th July, 1750.—MS.

³ Dupplin to Newcastle, 3rd August 1750.—MS.

Once more the fraternal squabbles were lulled to sleep. On learning from Pelham that misapprehensions had been dispelled between the brothers, Pitt despatched fresh felicitations to Hanover : " May nothing ever shake that cordial intercourse, and nothing will then be able to shake your united strength or defeat your joint endeavours for the King's service."¹

Dorset again urged his being sent to Ireland. Harrington had now had four years of pro-consulate, and was so enfeebled in health and spirits as to be thought by everyone except himself no longer equal to the responsibility. His old colleagues were willing to let him down on an extra pension of £1,500 a-year, in addition to what he already enjoyed of £2,500 for services abroad. They may not have been aware, or they may have forgotten, that out of Pharaoh's lean kine on the other side of the Channel he had helped himself to a handsome sinecure, of which more presently. He said, notwithstanding, that his case was very hard, and Pelham, disposed as he was to economy--or at least to decorum in extravagance--felt it so irksome to tell him he was worn out, that his indefatigable brother offered to explain this painful fact to him on paper from Herrenhausen.

Pelham continued to be moved by Harrington's importunities that he should either have some other office or compensation for despisal. He asked why he might not take his successor's place as Lord President, or if not, why Lord Gower should not have it, and leave him the Privy Seal; and when told plainly that neither was to be hoped for, he pressed to know if he had offended in any other way save that wherein he was conscious at the time he had done so, by standing firmly in support of those who were now in power, alluding plainly to the Ministerial crisis of 1746. Would they leave an old colleague to want? In any case let him know his fate ; and Pelham thought it might, after all, be questionable economy to deal too hardly with him, for he had some friends who would say he was treated ill. He, therefore, preferred to make him General of Marines, for which his former service in the army furnished an excuse, but which the world without were puzzled whether to regard as a joke or a job.

George II. had fits of delusion, violent for the time, but of brief duration. Misled by the pageantry of the Court and the uninterrupted freedom to do what he liked in private life without

¹ 26th July, 1750.—MS.

question, he sometimes fancied himself King with actual prerogative and privilege of irresponsible patronage. Sagacious Ministers and mistresses indulged his fancy rather than incur the inconvenience of contention that could end in nothing ; and in the case of small pensions at home or small subsidies abroad, they let him have his way. But in important matters he had not much more of real power than his cousin, the ex-Prince of Wales. When asked to sanction the last device of favouritism, he broke out in a rage : " Was General of Marines to be the reward for everybody that flew in his face ? That was the case of that old rascal Stair : Lord Harrington should have his ears cut off." Newcastle said all he could to induce the King to do something for him, but he would do nothing. Not caring to irritate him further, his Grace proposed to suspend the issue of Dorset's writ as Viceroy for the present, to which the unreasoning Monarch assented, forgetting that it left the object of his aversion in possession so much longer of one of the greatest offices under the Crown.

A gleam of light soon afterwards broke in upon him, and he said that "*he would* do the Generalship of Marines, but not at Hanover." Nothing could be expected until he was in England.¹ But how to get rid of Bedford ? Newcastle proposed that he should be made Master of the Horse. He persuaded himself that Lady Yarmouth was in communication with Woburn, if not Windsor Lodge, and that the suggestion for an exchange of offices would not be unacceptable. In other words, that Bedford would be willing to succeed Richmond as Grand Equerry, and that Sandwich hoped to have the Seals. If Pelham would not agree to readmit Granville, and if Chesterfield could not be asked without him, Newcastle recommended Holderness or Waldegrave as colourless and compliant elements of a united Administration. Neither Hardwicke nor Pelham approved ; but, weary of jealousy and jar, they acquiesced. Thus, the Secretary for the Northern Department was allowed to nominate a Deputy for the Southern Department, and to have the patronage, if not the power, of both.

It is somewhat strange that in their scrutiny of obtainable allies, and balancing of comparative fitness to help, no suspicion is hinted by either correspondent of the disability which had

¹ To Pelham, 10th October, 1750.—MS.

was brittle. Three years and more he had served assiduously, in secondary place, daily expecting admission to the Chamber of Power; yet the longed-for acknowledgment of his pretensions came not, and availing himself of the half-hidden difference between the Pelhams, he flung aside the mien and tone of expectancy. The First Lord, over-sanguine in reliance on his majority, put up Lord Barrington to move 8,000 instead of 10,000 seamen for the current year, in consequence of the recent treaties, fewer cruisers being needed against pirates, and fewer men-of-war against the navies of the world. Nugent and Oswald warmly opposed the reduction as inconsistent with the promise from the Throne that the maritime force of the country should be fully maintained, and with the late Ministerial proposals for a costly naval reserve. Pelham and Henry Fox defended the resolution as best they might; while Egmont and Potter declaimed against it. Pitt, Granville, and Lyttelton, though holding office, and many of their friends divided with the minority,¹ and on the Report of Supply the contest was renewed. To the general amazement, the Paymaster-General rose and denounced unsparingly the proposal. It was plain, he said, that Jacobitism was not dead; its prevalence was still a source of practical danger. He had theretofore been for economy, but he never would consent to the country being disarmed; and though it grieved him to differ from those with whom his lot in life was cast, he must record his opinion against the reduction. The House was, perhaps, more disposed to laugh than tremble at this blank cartridge fire of independence. Far from blaming his insubordination, Newcastle addressed Colonel Pelham, his representative for Lewes, "Dear Jemmy,—As you can be no stranger to the able and affectionate manner in which Mr. Pitt has taken upon himself to defend me, and the measures which have been solely carried on by me, when both have been openly attacked by violence, and when no other person in the House opened his lips in defence of either, I think myself bound in honour and gratitude to show my sense of it in the best manner I am able. I must, therefore, desire that neither you or any of my friends would give into any clamour or run that may be made against him." The Sussex contingent were too well trained to neglect orders, and those from Notts and Yorkshire

were equally mindful of what was called their duty. No effectual resistance was made, after all, to the questioned parsimony of Pelham, and in the Cabinet the conduct of Pitt and the mutineers was not even impugned. The First Lord of the Treasury, bowing to the decision of the House, went out of his way to be more civil than ever to Pitt ; the key to whose whole behaviour Horace Walpole said might be found in this, that "whenever he wanted new advancement he was used to go off, and it would not be surprising if, though baffled, he still carried his point of Secretary of State."¹

George II. was said to be in a declining way, and his demise was thought to be no longer distant. The Prince of Wales's party, by uniting with the remains of the former Opposition, grew formidable. They were led in the Commons by Egmont, Lee, Nugent, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Bubb Dodington, who, two years before, had resigned the Treasurership of the Navy in order to devote himself to the service of the Prince, and was appointed Treasurer of the Chambers, with £2,000 a-year. In anticipation of the accession of Frederick, his adherents divided the spoils of Administration : Dodington was to have a peerage and the management of the House of Lords, or the Seals for the Southern Department. He was commissioned to announce to Mr. Furnese, as a special friend of Chesterfield, a seat at the Board of Treasury ; to Sir Francis Dashwood the Treasurership of the Navy ; to Mr. Henley² the office of Solicitor-General ; and to settle with Talbot the place he would occupy. Meetings were frequent and consultations with Lord Bute, Sir F. Dashwood, and Chief Justice Willes long for arranging the proceedings at the commencement of a new reign. There were also communications opened with Lords Carlisle, Baltimore, and Shaftesbury, and Sir P. Methuen. The Pelhams were to be dismissed, Parliament dissolved, and a new Civil List obtained of £800,000. Meantime, Dodington undertook to raise two or three hundred thousand pounds on his own estate ; but, divided among themselves, and supported only by a remnant of the former Opposition, they would stand small chance in debate against the Ministerial party, among whom were Pelham, Fox, Pitt, and Murray. Suddenly the farce ended. Prince Frederick

¹ To H. Mann, Feb. 1751.

² Afterwards Lord Keeper.

between them. Thus, after nearly twenty years spent in the wilderness of Opposition, he returned to the avocations in which he most delighted, and for which he was singularly fitted by the versatility of his talents and attainments.

The Duke wrote from Claremont apologising for not having been able in person to acquaint his old rival that he was to be President of the Council, and offering to meet him at Court, where his appointment should be declared. Referring to what had been said to Stone about the importance of concord, he said in a postscript, "My brother was here yesterday. We are determined jointly to support measures^{*}; to which Granville replied expressing satisfaction at the only pledge he had wished for, and repeating his own promises of cordial support.¹ Thus the quarrel of twenty-seven years' duration ended, without explanation or retractation on either side, and it is not easy now, through the best historic telescope, to make out clearly any adequate cause for its commencement or continuance; though it needs no magnifying-glass to discern why it came to an end. Both were growing old, and losing grasp of affairs; and neither, probably, was troubled any more with dreams of being able to impress with his individual image the policy of the time. They had accused each other often enough of breaking promises; but for the future, sadder if not wiser men, each kept his word.

The Chancellor lost no opportunity of pushing his son Charles, whose showy talents gave promise of professional distinction. On the death of Mr. Joddrel, who held the honorary office of Solicitor-General to the Princess of Wales, and the lucrative post of Counsel to the East India Company, Yorke applied for both; the first as it would furnish an excuse for a call within the Bar, and the latter because it was really worth having.

The First Lord, having no children of his own, lent his aid the more easily to gratify the paternal solicitude of the Chancellor. Charles was already on the high road to the judicial Bench. Joseph's turn was next; and Holderness having made room for him at the Hague, his father in a few familiar words requested that he might replace him there. Nothing was talked about pre-eminent diplomatic qualifications. The great Judge—for on the Bench he was really a great man—seldom stooped to farce

¹ Newcastle Correspondence, 16th June, 1751.—MS.

or shuffling. "Poor Joe" wanted something ; that was all. He had been Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, and had been under fire at the battle of Laffeldt, after which he was given a regiment, and advanced to the rank of General, what for exactly does not appear. As Christendom, however, was now at peace, it was thought as well that he should devote his talents to diplomacy ; and we consequently find him established in the pleasant quarters once occupied by Sir W. Temple, and afterwards by old Horace Walpole, where for five-and-twenty years he gave dinners to the Dutch and to all English persons of quality who passed that way ; and probably made as few enemies or errors as the nature of his instructions from home allowed.

The Chancellor's fifth son, James, took Holy Orders, and was not unsuccessful in his way. He does not appear to have spent his strength in preaching or theological research. He relied upon his father for fortune if not for fame, and, in regular course, became, before his hair was grey, Dean of Lincoln. While on a visit to Wimpole he had an offer from the Master of the Rolls, of the Preachership which had been filled by Butler, Sherlock, Herring, and Warburton, and which was regarded as an opportunity of distinction that often effloresced into episcopal dignity ; but his humility deemed him unworthy of such honour, and he refused the offer. Subsequently, however, he became Bishop of St. David's ; whence he was translated to Gloucester, and eventually to Ely.

From Newcastle's letters to his wife, with constant references to conversations with the King, it is evident that, after four-and-twenty years of illegal expenditure, the once opulent Duke was often in an impecunious plight. It was thought necessary to effect a mortgage on Claremont. There was no money at Hoare's Bank, but the steward Waller had £300 in hand ; Moore, the maltman, wanted £200 to pay the excise, and Hollis could not do without £300 immediately. There was also due to the labourers a whole year at Lady Day ; and money was wanted for all the other artificers. Waller was ordered to go down to Claremont and make up the accounts to be laid before the Duchess, and see what arrears were due on the trust estates. "I beg, also, that my dearest would reduce the servants and expenses of the family to what may be brought within compass.

to appoint a Commission consisting of Granville, Hardwicke, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Waldegrave (not all of the Cabinet), to inquire whether any grounds existed for such insinuations. Murray and Stone offered their evidence and were cross-examined on oath. The report thoroughly disposed of the scandal, and the Cabinet, having taken it into consideration, laid before the Sovereign their conviction that he had no two men of ability in his service more to be depended on.

It has strangely been imagined that this proceeding was a delegation of responsibility by the official advisers of the Crown. But the Executive, like each House of Parliament, had time out of mind resorted to this method of dealing with vexatious or troublesome questions, not in the least implying distrust of its own competency, or any design of clothing a new tribunal with independent authority. Each House of the Legislature had frequently resorted to such a form of quasi-judicial investigation, but no one ascribed to such a provisional inquest the function of determining or overruling the judgment of the body that had called it into being *pro hac vice*. The strongest Committees ever named had had their decisions laid aside, but half adopted, or rejected altogether by their all-powerful makers ; and even when most successful and approved, their members parted company when their collective work was done, to reassemble no more.

The Executive in like manner referred novel or perplexing matters of contention to the scrutiny of a select few whose opinion was deemed of value, not in supersession of the ultimate judgment of the Cabinet, but rather as a help and aid to a correct decision. Frequently, though not always, Privy Councillors, these administrative referees were sometimes dignified with the title of a Committee of Council, although, in point of fact, fewer appellations could be less accurate, for they were not even in semblance delegates of the numerous but comparatively inactive body arrayed on great occasions round the Throne ; and they were not exclusively taken from the departmental Ministers of the day. Undefined by Statute, their method of procedure in each case was discretionary ; but there were analogies that could not have been forgotten, every particular of which Parliament had settled with punctilious care regarding naval and military affairs. To Courts of Inquiry or Courts-Martial variable in number and rank, but always definitely limited in pur-

pose and scope, and always terminable in their existence, issues of more or less importance were continually referred ; but their judgments were only binding when confirmed by the Department that, at its discretion, called them into being. They were empowered to search out facts, send for papers, hear witnesses, exonerate the innocent from implied complicity, and declare the erring worthy of condemnation. But if their report were not approved at Ministerial headquarters, it went for nothing ; the Court adjourned *sine die*, and every member of it relapsed into his previous unimportance. Nor would it have mended the working of preliminary inquiry, general or special, to have treated it as a Committee of Privy Council. Experience indeed had shown the frailty and futility of resort to any such expedient. The most egregious acts of administrative despotism, by Tudor, Cromwell, or Stuart, had been essayed in the presence and with the assumed sanction of a crowd of Privy Councillors. The composition of the Committee to inquire into the education of the Heir to the Throne might have warned an Opposition less factious of the unwisdom of trying to set up an anomalous body superseding alike Cabinet and Privy Council ; and held together only by the Lord President. The part taken by Granville in debate proved that he did not think so, and that he would have lent no aid to suggesting an alternative authority to the Cabinet or relieving it from supreme responsibility. If accusers or accused declined such arbitration, they could not be compelled to accept it, and whatever the award might be, it could only amount to justifying the retention of hitherto uncensured men in subordinate office until an indictment for treason were found against them by a Grand Jury, or a Bill of Impeachment was preferred by the House of Commons. But it was too good a topic of Party discussion to be allowed to sleep. Bedford's motion for copies of the proceedings that had taken place on the subject, left to Lord Ravensworth the task of recapitulating all that had been said and unsaid, averred, qualified, or retracted with reference to the accused. He himself impugned, not merely the judgment of the Cabinet or their discretion in the exercise of their authority, but the lawfulness of their claim to exist as an executive power. "The notorious fact that an inquest of treason had been in agitation, led him to conclude that it must and would be brought thither for their Lordships' advice. Could he

siderable time, broke silence on the occasion : " I did not expect that this would have been the first return for an unusual condescension by Parliament to clamour to demands out of doors. A stand must be made, or our authority is at an end I consider the late clamour an election art which has been judiciously humoured. The Bill was not a toleration, but a preference given to Jews over other sects. We are not to be influenced by the precedent of laws made before the Reformation. Our ancestors would have said a Lollard has no right to inherit lands. We, on the contrary, do not fear to indulge Jews, who are not likely to become great purchasers of land." The proposal was rejected by a great majority ; and no more was heard of the subject for many years.

The name of Pelham is best remembered in our day as that of the Statutable founder of the British Museum. He was not himself a collector or a donor of literary or artistic treasures ; but his memory will always be cherished by the lovers of antiquities, ancient sculpture, manuscripts, and books, for having, in a singularly unpropitious time, pledged the House of Commons to establish and maintain, at whatever cost might be found indispensable, a national home for the treasures of by-gone times, and a store-house of literature for all time to come.

In the Royal Library there had been preserved many records and curious documents of feudal and Tudor days ; and with these were incorporated under a Statute of 1701 the rare collection of original documents and printed papers of every description, illustrative of the public annals, made by Sir Robert Cotton, his son, and grandson, and given as an endowment of learning to which all students and men of letters should have the benefit of access. Outgrowing the limits of the family mansion, the collections were removed to Ashburnham House in Dean's Yard in 1730, where they narrowly escaped destruction by fire ; and they were placed for refuge in certain of the upper rooms of Westminster School. There they remained for twenty years. Meanwhile, the long unequalled private library, begun by Harley in 1705, extended greatly by the zeal and liberality of his son, the second Earl of Oxford, and said to contain 8,000 MSS. of value, 50,000 printed volumes, and a number almost fabulous of prints and pamphlets, was offered for sale by his grand-daughter, the Duchess of Portland, for £10,000, a sum

much within its value. About the same time, Sir Hans Sloane, directed by his will that his museum of curiosities, to the gathering of which he had devoted his life, should for a given sum be placed at the disposal of the Treasury. Pelham, backed by Hardwicke and Granville, led the Cabinet to sanction a scheme for the acquisition of both these truly national treasures, and to purchase a suitable building for their permanent resting-place. Montagu House, Bloomsbury, with its spacious offices and gardens, was tenantless since the death of its last ducal owner, and it was proposed to raise £95,000 by the familiar way of Government lottery, which would be sufficient to secure the fee simple, and to provide for the adaptation of the edifice to its contemplated purpose. There was little disposition shown in Parliament to oppose the scheme. An Act was passed vesting the whole of the property thus acquired in trustees for national uses ; and by subsequent statutes various other private museums and libraries were engrafted in the stock planted with infinite pride and satisfaction in 1753 by Pelham.

Secretary-at-War, though not of the Cabinet.¹ Legge was named instead Minister of Finance.

*Lord Dartmouth's son had begun life in the Navy, in which, during the earlier portion of the reign, so little opening seemed probable for active service that he left it to embrace a political career. As private secretary to Sir R. Walpole he obtained a nomination to the close borough of Orford, one of those side wickets to the orchard where public fruit grew abundantly, and where it was his own fault if a young man of family and talent did not appropriate a goodly share of what was pleasant to the eye, and good for food. It is classed by Oldfield with Gatton and Old Sarum as a wretched hamlet, which a foreigner would find it difficult to believe could send as many Members to Parliament as some of the largest and most populous counties. The right of election was vested in a mayor, recorder, eight portmen, and twelve burgesses; most of them non-resident and relatives of the owner. He had been Secretary to Devonshire in Ireland, and subsequently Secretary to the Treasury and Treasurer of the Navy. Amiable, sprightly, and indefatigable, he was a favourite with both colleagues and subordinates.

Murray was pre-eminent in skill of fence; master of forensic art, eloquent and versatile in persuasion, apt in citation from precedent and statute; and dexterous beyond compare in excusing and extenuating errors and omissions in those who were reproached with deviating from acknowledged rule. He had neither the wit nor the effrontery of Fox, who had the knack of rescuing an important question from a confused fray of inconsistent and incongruous arguments and carrying it off in safety: and he had not the passionate look or tragic tone which Pitt could assume to frighten the House from some tempting impropriety. But taking him for all in all, Murray was the best worth having of the three for the ordinary business of debate; and the value set upon his aid by Ministers was ineffable.

Lord Gower was told he must resign the Privy Seal on account of his health. It was eventually given to the Duke of Marlborough, while another relative, the Duke of Rutland, was made Lord Steward. Newcastle had succeeded in assuming the sole direction of affairs, and the King, not caring to question the

¹ Henry Fox to Newcastle, 14th March, 1754.—MS.

transfer of sovereignty thus accomplished, was said to have kissed hands on being allowed to retain his nominal position.

The wary Chancellor gave Pitt to understand that he had urged his inclusion in the reorganisation of the Government, and that he only refrained through delicacy from telling him all he had said in his favour, pleading the additional strength which real merit like his would impart. But he need not remind him that there were certain things which Ministers could not do directly. But Pitt was not to be satisfied with recognition by deputy and the adjournment of his own claims *sine die*. Nor was he to be fooled by Newcastle's pretence that Sir T. Robinson had been chosen to represent the Government in the House of Commons because "he had not those Parliamentary talents which could give jealousy, or in that light set him above the rest of the King's servants there; so that their situation did not receive the least alteration from his promotion; and since from circumstances it was impossible to put one into that office, who had all the necessary qualifications both within and out of the House, nothing could show so great a desire to soften or alleviate that misfortune as the giving into a nomination of Sir Thomas Robinson, under the description above mentioned."¹

Pitt broke forth in a flood of remonstrance and importunity. His Grace had wisely taken the province of the Treasury to himself, where the powers of Government resided, and which in the crisis of a general election might lay the foundation of the future political system so fast as not to be shaken thereafter. The power of the Purse in the hands of the same family might, he trusted, be so used as to fix all other powers there along with it. "Amidst all the real satisfaction he felt on this great measure so happily taken, it was with infinite reluctance that he was forced to return to the mortifying situation of his Grace's humblest servant. The difficulties grew so fast upon him by the repetition and multiplication of most painful and too-visible humiliations, that his small share of prudence suggested no longer to him any means of colouring them to the world; nor of repairing them to his own mind consistently with his unshaken purpose to do nothing, on any provocation, to disturb the quiet of the King, and the ease and stability of present and future governments. Would his Grace permit a man, whose affectionate attachment he could not doubt,

¹ Newcastle to Pitt, March, 1754.

seemed no other way open but a vigorous and resolute exertion of authority by taking power out of the hands of those who had used it amiss ; and by settling a uniform Administration among those who were disposed to serve the Government. There was nothing for the present to be guarded against but the impertinence of the populace, of which, however, there had been much more talk than reality. The people there were liable to sudden starts and suspicions, and that disposition had been industriously cultivated by money, as well as by every other bad method ; and before another Session, if the Government made a stand, the majority of the House of Commons would be with it. It was Dorset's opinion that the stand should be then made.¹

Before the ink was dry, or Lord G. Sackville, the bearer of this despatch, left Dublin, news came of the unlooked-for death of Pelham ; and when delivered his surviving colleagues were too busy with the reconstruction of the Cabinet to pay immediate attention to Irish affairs.

Full of his new obligations, Newcastle did not like the prospect of an open conflict between the Castle and the Parliament at College Green, and he not unnaturally bethought him of a device, for which a prolonged recess would afford facilities, for avoiding the perplexing issue raised. He sent the Viceroy's letter to Grenville with a suggestion that, instead of superseding Dorset, Hartington might be sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland, where his family connections might unofficially tend to bring about an accommodation. The Lord President considered the thought a good one, and the person named very proper, "but how was he to be paid if the Lord-Lieutenant retained the salary ? Lord Ossory when Deputy under his father, had the whole salary, which was vastly advantageous both to father and son. Ireland would not be charged to keep Dorset in the Government. Whence, then, should it come ?"² When informed of the project, his Excellency strongly demurred. He professed to have no objection personally to the choice to be made, but he thought he was entitled to be consulted before any step was taken. He believed the nomination suggested would discourage influential friends of Government to a degree that no explanations could clear up, and he requested that nothing further should be done

¹ Dorset to Secretary of State, 9th March, 1754.—MS. from Dublin Castle.

² Granville to Newcastle, 19th March, 1754.—MS.

in the affair until he had an opportunity of explaining his sentiments in person to the King.¹ Hartington declined to go as Deputy. Lord Hertford was then appealed to, and he seems to have consented; but as difficulties multiplied and the agitation in Ireland subsided, with the continued prorogation of Parliament, the project was laid aside.²

Archbishop Stone and Chancellor Jocelyn, created Lord Newport, were for the fifth time named Lords Justices: Speaker Boyle being no longer associated with them in the Commission, but in his stead Lord Besborough, than whom the Primate thought no one in Ireland was more eligible. For the next twelve months Ireland was governed by them.³

The Paymaster's popularity in the City was but still in the shrub, but growing fast towards the timber height, under which presently all fowls of the air, clean and unclean, could take shelter. Beckford was the personal channel of communication usually between Guildhall and Hayes; immensely proud of Pitt's condescending familiarity, and immensely over-valued amongst his brother Aldermen for being supposed to have his confidence. When patriotically outspoken at St. Stephen's, the Treasury Bench whispered one to another, "What does Pitt mean now?" and when he consented to abandon some threatening motion, Lords of the Treasury chuckled at the conviction that a truce had been concluded with Stowe. Beckford's brother stood for Bristol at the General Election. Against him Government supported Nugent, but higgled regarding the expense. Newcastle acquainted the King that he had an offer from Mr. Hanbury, the Quaker, engaging to indemnify the Ministerial candidate to the extent of £10,000. The Friends were all working hard against Beckford. His Majesty wrote in reply, "I am exceedingly obliged to the Friends for the great zeal and affection they show on this occasion."³ All good Whigs preferred to have Sir John Phillips, a broken Jacobite, rather than Beckford, a "wild West Indian." The First Lord took care, as usual, to exercise his authority in the various places subject to his sway. The returns generally realised the hopes of Government; all the letters on the subject being forwarded to the King, who signified his satisfaction in writing.

¹ To Newcastle from Dublin, 7th April, 1754.—MS.

² *Ibid.*, 27th April, 1754.—MS.

³ April, 1754.—MS.

Leadership on his own terms respecting patronage. Newcastle, still unyielding on that vital point, told the King that he was ready to inform the Secretary-at-War of the plans and intentions of Ministers for the Session, but that the Leadership had better be divided between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary Robinson, and the Paymaster-General. George II. "ran out against Pitt," whom, he said, they had unwisely given an office that enabled him to be troublesome and exacting; but if Pitt behaved ill Fox might have his place, and that would set all right. Unwilling to meet Fox in close conference, Newcastle proposed to communicate with him through Hartington.¹ The only matter on which Hardwicke's reply was clear was against sanctioning Pitt's proposed Highland levies for service in America, which the Duke of Cumberland reprobated as troops raised for the Pretender. Affairs in North America might still be put in a good condition if adequate measures were taken early the next spring and proper officers sent thither with arms, clothing, and money to raise recruits in the colonies during the winter. When that was done, it would give great spirit to the people and forward the design of a general concert. It was then so late in the year that any regular force that they might send could not arrive time enough to act before the winter came on. When officers were fixed on, they should be sent away speedily, and with as little noise as possible, and before the spring all means should be used to gain the Indians by presents, and demonstrating to them that it was intended to protect them as well as ourselves. If all this had been done twelve months before, expense had been saved which must now be incurred.²

Advice so vigorous served only to rekindle the embers of the jealousy that of late seemed dead; and Newcastle, without discussing its merits, set himself forthwith to thwart it. He could not think of asking Parliament to undertake an expenditure so great as the Lord President recommended, and he would not be responsible for a policy that might provoke France to go to war.³

¹ 21st September, 1754.—*M.S.*

² Granville to Newcastle, 22nd September, 1754.—*M.S.*

³ To A. Stone, 28th September, 1754.

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY FOX SECRETARY OF STATE.

1754-1755.

Legge Finance Minister—Oscillations in the Cabinet—Pitt and Fox Malcontent—Jobbing at the War Office—Fox Secretary of State—Influence of Lady Yarmouth—On the Brink Scene at Lord Hillsborough's—Scandal at Kew—Pitt Mutinous—Dismissals from Office—Proposed Marriage of Prince of Wales.

GOVERNMENT majorities have often proved dangerously great. That with which Ministers were elated at Easter threatened to fall to pieces in autumn. Pitt's chagrin at being passed over, Temple's open opposition, and the "pragmatical discontent of Legge," led to the formation of a new project at Holland House. Fox was more intimate than ever with Devonshire, and in August paid more than one visit to Lady Yarmouth, to whom he had told the story of his refusal of the Leadership in the Commons, and of the negotiations between himself and Ministers, which, he said, had better never have been begun. All this, of course, was to be repeated to the King, that he might be brought to believe in the offer having been insincere. Legge's vanity was looked on as the cause of his alienation from the head of the Treasury, who would place no confidence in anybody in the Lower House but the Attorney-General; and the reproach was not indistinctly whispered that a Government calling itself Whig should be led by a Tory. In confidence to Hardwicke, the Duke recounted all the circumstances of dissatisfaction, dwelling especially on the jealousy entertained of his friend Murray. The Princess of Wales, for reasons of her own, was likewise uneasy at the apparent weakness of Administration; and though Fox had never stood well at Leicester House, rather

five-and-twenty barrels of gunpowder, and that, having removed ten of them, he hoped the remaining fifteen would not do much harm.

Not content with snubbing Legge into submission, and scoffing at the notion of any more independent or responsible leader than Robinson or him, Newcastle suffered the time of meeting to approach before settling definitely who should issue the usual circular, and he proposed that it should be issued in the name of Mr. West, the Secretary to the Treasury. Hardwicke quietly put aside this blunder by the remark that the proper person to invite their friends' attendance was the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Colonel Conway undertook at length to perform the duty. Legge acquitted himself fairly in the estimation of his friends, and was congratulated at Court thereupon ; but Robinson found him, on the Treasury Bench, cold and abstracted, as if distrustful, for some reason,¹ of the position, and well he might be, if he had any inkling of the counter-moves in contemplation. The First Lord, by way of taking upon himself, ostensibly, the paramount Leadership of the two Houses, gave a grand Parliamentary dinner to the principal Members of both, and deliberately left out Fox, though holding high Executive office.

How little the Ducal device of driving a full team through the narrow ways of Westminster by a long rein was likely to answer soon appeared. One after another of the creatures warranted safe to go in harness shied when asked to second the Address, and more than one excused himself. As if in mockery, Legge asked John Yorke, the Chancellor's son, a young and unripe politician, who would at least be sure to say what he was bidden ; but Hardwicke had too much good sense, after enlisting his son-in-law, Lord Breadalbane, to do as much for them in the Upper House, to allow the last of his progeny to perform that function on the same day in the Lower. What would people say ? He did not mind writing the Speech, but he did not choose to be laughed at for having composed both the Replies,² and once more talked freely to Legge, who urged that the cards must be newly shuffled, and they must have a Leader of the House who would go to the King and explain to him what was

¹ To Newcastle, 16th Nov., 1754.—MS.

² To Newcastle, 9th Nov., 1754.—MS.

urgent or necessary, without previous agreement in the Cabinet. He did not want that function for himself, and was ready to go on doing his best in his department ; but he could not bring himself to be a mock Minister. All this, "without a word of compliment to the man who had put him there," did not prevent his being told the proposed plan for the Session ; "but the secret was out—that the three *great* men, Fox, Pitt, and Legge, were agreed that there must be a leading Minister in the Commons ; and that the two first, perhaps all three, thought they had a chance for it. This doctrine had been preached to Lady Yarmouth, and the success of it at Court would depend upon its success at Westminster. But the King must be persuaded that his business could best be carried on in the existing way. Would the Parliament or the nation tell the King that he must make Fox his Minister? for that was the question. Who would share the Government with Fox, or anyone who led the House of Commons?

There it all centred ; there Mr. Pitt might bring it, and there poor idle Mr. Legge was driving it.¹ Newcastle was less than ever prepared to relinquish his absolute control or to share his power. He believed implicitly in the preponderance of votes he could command in division, and in the acquiescence of his majority in the Cabinet.

Pitt was still Paymaster, and was not yet dismissed, but confidence between him and Newcastle thenceforth ceased. Both aspirants to promotion watched their opportunity to show their resentment and contempt, and it speedily came.

To induce the House to end a long debate on election petitions, the inexpert Leader said that the next case would be a short one, which involved no question of importance. Pitt took to hysterics at the shocking presumption of any man to prejudge in that House the rights of electors before the case had been deliberately heard. Fox touched to the quick the sense of the ridiculous by the grave irony wherewith he apologised for Robinson's inexperience, hoping it would be the last, as it was the first, time a great man would forestall the judgment of the House by his great authority. It speedily became clear that the thing could not go on. Robinson retired after a few weeks

¹ Newcastle to Stone, 28th September, 1754.—MS.

tried, he said, in audience, and subsequently by correspondence, but with little success. "If by any accident a vacancy should occur in the Secretary's Office, they would, upon Mr. Pitt's cordial promise of assistance, endeavour to obtain for him the Seals he so much desired." Pitt answered that he must begin where his visitor left off, with "the Seals which he so much desired,"—desired of whom? He did not remember that he had ever applied to his Lordship for them. He was certain he never had to his Grace of Newcastle. He assured the Chancellor that if they could prevail upon the King to give him the Seals, the only use he would make of them would be to lay them at his Majesty's feet, that till the King desired it and thought it necessary for his service he never would accept them. The King had lately said that he had obtruded himself into office. The Chancellor knew that this was not the case, and if he must ask a favour it would be that the Sovereign should be correctly informed upon that point. He did not object that regard should be paid to Hanover, should it be attacked on our account. The master of forensic arts rejoiced to find that thus far they agreed. Pitt hoped his Lordship would observe the words he had used—that regard should be paid to Hanover—not that we should find money to defend it by subsidies, which, if we could, was not the way to defend it—an open country was not to be defended against a neighbour who had 150,000 men, and 150,000 in reserve to back them. To the Russian subsidy he never would assent, which would be only leading Hanover into a snare, and decreasing and wasting the substance of our people; but as the honour of the Crown was said to be involved in the Hessian Treaty, he would waive discussion on that point. In vain the Chancellor reminded him that the defence of Hanover had been tacitly allowed in the previous Session as unavoidable; though limits must, of course, be set to the amount of subsidies; those in contemplation were not likely to be popular. But when Pitt spoke of the necessity of putting a stop to the system, Hardwicke could only say that he wished it could be done, though this was not the way to propitiate the King.

He suggested an interview with the First Lord of the Treasury for financial explanations. The paroxysm of hauteur having subsided, Pitt said he would wait on his Grace on receipt of a message that he desired to speak with him, and not otherwise.

Count Colloredo proposed, on behalf of the Emperor, a fresh Treaty of Alliance, by which he was to furnish 25,000 men, the lesser German Princes 30,000, England 10,000, and the Russians 50,000 men if Great Britain provided £500,000 for the Czar, and as much more for the Electors of Bavaria, Hesse, and Saxony; the Court of Vienna wanted none. The war against France would thus require additional supplies to the extent of three millions.¹ M. Munchausen gathered from M. Colloredo, however, that he hardly expected to obtain all he asked for, and George II. took the Secretary of State aback by telling him that he knew for certain a third of what was named was as much as could be expected. He thought they ought not to be hasty or generous on any other point than the Russian Treaty, but that they should insist that a reinforcement should be sent to the Low Countries.

When Holderness was about to reply, he was interrupted, and could not bring the subject again upon the *tapis*.²

Hanover was, as usual, uppermost in the Royal thoughts, and the Russian contingent consequently was of paramount concern. Holderness had neither the courage nor the mother wit to expostulate on the spot, and the First Lord could think of no better way of meeting the difficulty than splitting it. He was willing to ask Parliament for all that was immediately required, and to please the King by furthering preferentially a bargain with Russia and Hesse, not venturing to repudiate the stipulations with the other States, but silently deferring their fulfilment to the Greek kalends.

The irrepressibility of Frederick had sown fears all round. He had already begun to encroach on his neighbours' territory, and none could tell what the next object of aggression might be, and the flickering belief in the value of treaties of delimitation or guarantee had fairly died out. Even the Dutch, who had defied and baffled the rapacity of Louis XIV., began to grow uneasy at the rising power of their restless ally. Envoy Bentinck, though not given to indulge in misgiving, owned that among his countrymen "the fear of Prussia overpowered many well-meaning people."³

¹ Mem. for the King in Audience. Newcastle Papers, 16th April, 1755.—MS.

² Holderness to Newcastle, 19th April, 1755.—MS.

³ Despatch from Holderness, 9th May, 1755.—MS.

ment to the treaties with Russia and Hesse. The First Lord was impatient to hear some account of Charles Yorke's negotiation with "the great man." Till they knew his final resolution they could not go to work anywhere else, and it was high time that something was put in train.

Intrigues were certainly on foot and parts would be taken; which perhaps might have been prevented.¹

Yorke was again sent to ascertain Pitt's views and dispositions, and he found him in no placable mood.

The only Executive function which paralysis did not threaten with decay was the vital one of jobbing. After twenty-two years' service to the Government, during which he was never known to give a wrong vote, or to be absent when wanted, Mr. Hay, M.P. for Seaford, ceased from troubling his neglectful relative; and without loss of time the Duke sought to fill the vacant place. "He had the small employment of Keeper of the Records in the Tower, £500 per annum for life. I would humbly recommend to his Majesty's favour my nephew, Mr. John Shelley, who is, and always will be, in Parliament for East Retford. Though he will probably some time or other have a very good estate, during his father's lifetime I am afraid his income is not very much. There is no man in the House of Commons upon whom the King may at all times more depend than my nephew. I really think him very prudent and very honest."² Lord Powis and many others asked for the appointment, but the Duke wrote, "All the earth could not make the King give this place out of the House of Commons, and as it is for life I have recommended my nephew, Jack Shelley, for it. This has been my answer to several. These places for life (and this is only a small one) are always disposed of in this manner."³

Halifax had made a useful head of his Department, and thought himself entitled to a place in the Cabinet, or to the Garter. But Newcastle, being his near relative, did not see how giving him the Seals would strengthen the Administration; and Peers of order, title, and greater estate had prior claims to the blue ribbon. He was disappointed, moreover, at remonstrances against inefficiency and false economy in preparing for the great

¹ To the Chancellor, 27th June, 1755.—MS.

² To Holderness, 24th June, 1755.—MS.

³ To Powis, 25th June, 1755.—MS.

struggle in America, which the President of the Board of Trade had submitted to the Treasury, and which the privilege of kinship did not excuse. Halifax scoffed at the inefficiency of Holderness and Robinson, and complained that he should be passed over to appease the annoyance of Pitt, or to foil the cunning of Fox. He would enter into no cabal to upset the Cabinet, but he deemed himself badly treated, and did not mean to go on much longer without recognition or power.¹

Mysterious, but too intelligible, communications from Kew, where the Young Court, as it was called, resided, made the Duke aware for the first time of the painful truth regarding the Princess of Wales, which scandal had hitherto hardly ventured to hint above its breath ; and which, under all the circumstances, might well have filled a wiser and better man with perplexity.

Stone wrote on the 24th June, "Lord Waldegrave will tell you in what light he views the extraordinary appearances of Sunday last. He extremely laments what happened, and thinks it most inexcusable, and that the consequences of such behaviour, if it were to continue, must be of the worst kind. Yet he is willing to hope that in this instance it had not so bad a cause as there was too much reason to suspect it had. Something must be done to prevent anything of this sort for the future, and I hope it will not be long before something is done that may prove effectual for that purpose."² All doubt as to the grave misconduct implied was extinguished by Waldegrave, who felt it his duty to acquaint the responsible Ministers of the Crown with what had come to his knowledge ; and who has left on record the advice he gave that on the King's return to England, if not before, the facts of the case should be laid before him. It was, in truth, impossible that in his situation as the responsible governor of the Heir Apparent, then in his 16th year, the Earl could do less. The young Prince seemed to be then, and long afterwards, wholly unconscious of his mother's infatuation for Bute ; and unless Ministers were prepared to take the responsibility of breaking up his household and virtually severing all ties of devotion to his mother, they could not take any formal step implying her condemnation. All that happened at the time will probably be never known. Stone became an

¹ Conversation with Dodington at Horton.

² To Newcastle, 25th June, 1755.—MS.

"I approve everything ; I have but one thing now to wish—to see the King at St. James's or Kensington." If they could hit upon a plan for the House of Commons and one for the security of Hanover only, they might still do something.¹

Sir W. Yonge was asked to resign his Vice-Treasurership for a pension of £2,000 a-year. If he was complaisant, room might be made in the Cabinet for the dreaded demagogue as a sleeping partner. The Paymaster would be muzzled except when required to speak ; when, of course, he would be expected to talk heroics, and he would have his new rank and his old pay, which, in case of war, would be far the best worth having.²

At Stowe there was naturally no little exultation at the door being at last left upon the latch, that hitherto seemed inexorably barred ; and at Hayes there were varied rehearsals of befitting acknowledgment of the proffered favour. But half concession, wrung in an hour of perplexity from unrelenting grudge, seldom avails to mesmerise discontent for more than a brief span. Solitary reflection, unbroken by congratulations fondly counted on, whispered in the ear of egotism that brevet rank as one of the staff implied as little of command as leave to retain a financial place, lucrative but dumb. Was it possible that he was expected to play a mere obligato accompaniment in Parliament or to be paraded as a mute on painful occasions ? Worse still was the unexpressed consideration that he should abjure and decry the anti-German policy whereby he at first won fame. Already the Chancellor of the Exchequer was said to demur to the rumoured scheme of subsidies to powerless Princes on the Rhine ; could the Paymaster-General do less ?

Murmurs became audible among outsiders still in town at the end of July, when the renewal of German subsidies got wind, of which that to Hesse Cassel was supposed to be only the first ; and at the Board of Treasury, when the Warrant for the levy-money to the Paymaster-General came to be signed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer passed it on silently without his signature, which he accounted for afterwards to Secretary West by saying that he disapproved of the measure extremely. The First Lord was much put out, but begged that no notice might be taken of it from Hanover until there was time to enquire

¹ Newcastle to Holderness, 25th July, 1755.—MS.

² Newcastle to Holderness, 29th July, 1755.—MS.

further into what was meant.¹ After brief reflection, George II. and his advisers at Herrenhausen became convinced that it would be hopeless to defend the Electorate on the plan of isolation proposed by the Cabinet. It was a melancholy consideration to be forced to make war against France, and at the same time totally to abandon the Continent. The King refused to return to England immediately, saying that if his hereditary dominions were attacked, it was his duty to stop and defend them. Holderness trembled to think of the resolution he might take if France were to look that way. Lady Yarmouth, who was surprisingly good upon it, assured him nothing would move the King but a strong representation from England, and she advised, by all means, that it should be made without loss of time, as she saw the necessity of his return. She said he would be very angry at first, but he would comply, and before he reached Helvoet-Sluys would see the propriety of the advice.²

The aged Monarch made little resistance to the discipline of condescension in which he was now systematically trained for public show. Holderness made no scruple in telling him what was desired and expected regarding Pitt, who would not be satisfied without the sort of recognition to which he had hitherto been a stranger. “He said nothing as to Pitt, but would by no means admit either the utility or necessity of his own return. ‘There are Kings enough,’ he said, ‘in England. I am nothing there. I am old, and want rest, and should only go to be plagued and teased there about that d——d House of Commons, &c.’ He told the Princess of Hesse that though they pressed his return it was only in private letters; that if his presence was really necessary he should be applied to in form; and that he would not stir till then; but he saw plainly that he must return sooner than he liked.” Prussia meantime must be managed. The secret of our coldness with Vienna must be kept; but the moment we could not keep terms with Austria³ the only thing left would be to make terms with Prussia.³

The Lords Justices met in council at the Cockpit on the 6th August, those present being Prince William, the Lord President,

¹ Newcastle to Holderness, 25th July, 1755.—MS.

² Holderness to Newcastle, 30th July, 1755.—MS.

³ Holderness to Newcastle, 3rd August, 1755.—MS.

ready France had prevailed upon Sweden and Denmark to enter into a maritime union against the oppression of the English at sea, and their treatment of neutral powers. Holland would be at last intimidated, and how long Spain would stand out was uncertain.

The still undeclared, but not less real, war on the ocean had begun. The captain of H.M. sloop, the *Cruiser*, reported having taken seven sail of French merchantmen off Boulogne, and having chased three more within a league of St. Valery.¹ Far from rebuking him, the Naval Lord reported to his Board that altogether they had made capture of fifty-three ships.² Meanwhile secret advices from Versailles described the Court and Cabinet there as sore perplexed at the reluctance of the Spanish and Prussian Governments to enter into alliance against England. A million-and-a-half livres a month were said to have been offered to Frederick, and the bribe might be raised still further. What was most feared was the systematic destruction of the unarmed marine of France, without which on the shores of Acadie and Normandy the operations of their best appointed navy would be vain. But every armed vessel would ere long be put in condition, and some decisive enterprise would be organised. And this, though the word of a spy to earn so much a month, proved substantially true.³

If certain Dutch politicians were relieved by the extraordinary change that had come over neighbouring rulers with regard to future combinations in war, the Court of Orange was sorely troubled at the prospect of being dependent on the convenience or caprice of their great enemy. Yorke had more than enough to do to keep his sense of ambassadorial dignity in his frequent and prolonged audiences of the Princesse Gouvernante, who poured on his vicarious head her passionate reproaches at being deserted by her unaffectionate father. Sir Joseph could not say in so many words what he knew she must have known, that his dozing Majesty rarely pretended any longer to have decisive voice or veto in Council. Her Highness wept and stormed alternately, as she recalled her indefatigable labours for the past summer and autumn, to wheedle when she could not worry, and

¹ To Admiral Smith, 9th October, 1755.—MS.

² To Sec. Cleveland, 10th October, 1755.—MS.

³ Cressener to Newcastle, 9th October, 1755.—MS.

to worry when she could not coax, the Dutch Cabinet into thorough co-operation with the proposals of the previous spring for a grand combination against France. Yorke did not like reporting to Whitehall all she said, but he feared to keep his chief in the dark. He told Secretary Holderness how he had reminded her of their disappointment at the little active sympathy shown in Holland in her views, and the coldness of Austria, which left her father's Ministers no choice but to look elsewhere for aid. They had found that most of the Dutch rulers were inclined to treat with France for a neutrality, and that it was because he did not desire to distress her Administration, but on the contrary, to facilitate it, that he had taken the earliest opportunity of informing her of the true state of affairs, that she might have time to look about her for the security of her house, and the Republic. Chagrin does not reason clearly in many men ; seldom, if ever, in a woman ; and the Princess was no exception. Having made the English Envoy promise what he had no right to do, that he would not tell the Pensionary what his instructions were, she forthwith bade him make her father understand that as she was left to the mercy of France, he must not reckon on the 6,000 men the Commonwealth was by treaty bound to furnish Great Britain in case of need ; that the *Quartier de Gueldre* would probably be surrendered to France, and all the standing provisions regarding the Scheldt would be sacrificed by the States-General to appease their ravening neighbour ; and so on, with many forebodings as to the altered map of Europe.¹

In spite of good news from Dublin, Madrid, Potsdam, Holland House, and the Channel Fleet, the Cabinet were out of spirits. Legge must go out, and Grenville was for making other examples as proof of their possessing determination. Lady Yarmouth told the First Lord that she thought he wanted spirit and resolution ; and when he asked the King to appease the discontent of the Princess of Wales by a further allowance of £5,000 a-year, his Majesty was always for condescendences, but he would not give her another shilling ; in consequence of which they must expect many additional votes against them. Why could not somebody of influence expostulate with her ? Newcastle could think of no one but Lord Bute, who confessededly had the most influence. Lady Yarmouth deprecated strongly

¹ Joseph Yorke to Newcastle, 7th October, 1755.—MS.

know his ambition to be unbounded ; and if he sees his way at Leicester House, the warmth of his temper and his passion will carry him any lengths ; his former opposition sufficiently proves it.”¹

The Duke being ill, Lord John Cavendish replied for him :—

“ My father does not approve of the subsidy treaties, but if they whose conduct he has approved of in this affair have any design to foment divisions in the Royal Family he thinks them highly to blame ; but that subject he can as yet form no judgment upon, as he is not acquainted with any facts relating to it. His Grace has carried his prudery of influencing nobody so far that if I had not been employed to write this letter to you, I should never have got him to confess he did not like the measures, not that by his conversation it was not easy enough to guess what he meant, which made me walk out without voting on the day of the address.”²

Notwithstanding their intimacy and confidence, Bedford was not disposed to support Fox in his new position. Fox wrote :—

“ He will not come in with the Duke of Newcastle, though he will not, I fancy, be against the subsidies. He is much struck with seeing Pitt's government established in another Court, and however he may dislike Ministers or measures, he will never, he says, give into another Leicester House opposition. This is honest and open. And were he not afraid of being thought to be governed he would do right. How far that fear may carry him wrong (short of the opposition he mentioned with such horror) I won't say. Everything with regard to domestic affairs go well enough. I see every day more and more reason to know that I did right, and that I could have done no otherwise. In Parliament we shall, I verily think, triumph beyond expectations. Whether, with respect to foreign affairs in Europe, we are not even in a desperate way, I dare not examine. And yet the city is afraid of peace, and I am said to be *Le Bon feu de la Guerre.*”³

On the eve of the decisive struggle the Government measured their strength in debate with that of their opponents. “ Our line of battle is not so weak a one as may have been imagined. For :

¹ Hartington to Devonshire, 8th November, 1755.—MS.

² To Hartington, 15th November, 1755.—MS. *

³ Fox to Hartington, 4th November, 1755.—MS.

Fox, Murray, H. Campbell, Charles Yorke, Old Horace, Hillsborough, Barrington, Sir T. Robinson, Dupplin, &c. Against : Pitt, Dodington, Legge, G. Grenville, Potter, Jemmy Grenville, Beckford, if not, Egmont. Doubtful: George Townshend, Charles Townshend, Noel Henley, and perhaps Dr. Hay.¹

The rival orators at St. Stephen's had not actually quarrelled, but on both sides stood at 'tention. Pitt called on Fox and said : "We, sir, stand now upon different ground. We were upon the same circumvergent ground, but now, sir, you have done what was right for you, and I must do what is right for myself."² Upon which, Dodington said, "The gods take care of Cato." Hardwicke thought Pitt must have said "convergent ground." He had made up his mind to be against the Hessian Treaties.

As the Session approached, every vote was looked up, and even in the Lords, where Government did not affect any fears, renewed proxies were asked for carefully. Hartington received information from his father to send his to the First Lord, from which he was sorry to be obliged to infer that Chatsworth was determined to be against the subsidies. The Duke had not then received the Viceroy's letter on the subject, but he despaired of making his Grace change his opinion. Nothing ever gave him more concern than this affair. If his father should give him any opening, he would do everything in his power to dissuade him from opposition, but he feared it would be in vain.³

The Lord President having nothing departmental to do, and possessing beyond most other men the gifts and accomplishments that render versatility useful, had made for himself an undefinable, but not indistinct or unimportant, function—that of taking the measure and the mood of everyone politically worth asking to dinner. He loved wit, of which his own stock was varied, and wine, of which, when anyone fitly companionable would help him, he would sometimes take more than enough; but though still the delight of good society, from the death of his beautiful second wife he was insensible to female charms. Those who envied his personal popularity at Court or country house called his levity at small party perplexities want of

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 18th October, 1755.—MS.

² Granville to Newcastle, 12th October, 1755.—MS.

³ Hartington to Newcastle, 29th October, 1755.—MS.

Our Navy Estimates equalled, if they did not exceed theirs. From all which the Minister only inferred that they were sincerely anxious for a cessation of arms, as they said they were; and if these representations should be confirmed from other quarters, Newcastle thought proposals similar to those formerly offered by us might be accepted. Sir J. Barnard, on whom the Treasury mainly relied for guidance in financial operations east of Temple Bar, fell in readily with the Duke's hankering after peace as the simplest way of making ends meet next year.

Meanwhile, Anson's easy way of looking at things and lightening his correspondence with professional gibes and sneers at political faintheartedness, gave rise to no little vexation. Would the Chancellor expostulate with him without saying whence objection came?¹

But as hopes vanished of friendly relations, or even the dissembling of hostile combination with France on the part of the Czarina and the Empress, the King daily turned more and more towards his ambitious brother of Brandenburg; and he looked with impatience for the ratification of the Treaty of German neutrality, which at Vienna and St. Petersburg became, when published in the January following, the absorbing topic of denunciation as evidence of English perfidy. He clung to the Duchess of Brunswick's project for the marriage of his grandson and her eldest daughter, which, though not yet formally negatived at Leicester House, had caused much uneasiness there. Stone sent a confidential memorandum from Kew, apprising the Duke that Mr. Cresset would wait upon him by desire of the Treasurer to the Prince on matters of extreme urgency. Mr. Cresset seemed greatly to apprehend his mistress being committed in the report that must now be soon made, and hoped all possible caution would be used in that respect. The cause of uneasiness seemed to have been the rumour that the King, while abroad, had made up his mind that his Royal Highness should marry a daughter of Brunswick. In December he sent for the Prince to have, as he said, an opportunity of talking to him, generally about expectations of a separate household, which could not much longer be postponed. What with his own shyness, and the inopportune warnings of his suspicious parent, the embarrassed youth was confused by the frank and good-natured

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 28th December, 1755.—MS.

manner in which he was received. The King did his best to put him at his ease and induce him to open his juvenile hopes and wishes to him concerning men and things, not saying a peevish word about his mother or a syllable about matrimony, but all in vain. The Heir Apparent was what he himself always described as "flurried"; the blood mounted to his face; his voice, when he tried to be responsive to kind questioning, stuck in his throat; and after three-quarters of an hour his grandfather was convinced that he was one of the dullest and most obstinate boys, and that there was no use in spending what he meant for diplomacy upon him. Waldegrave, who knew them both, *intus et in cute*, felt that the occasion had been thrown away, and hoped that it would not be reverted to. Anybody of tact and sense, more of his own age, would have been likely to do better with one so crammed with prejudices; and it required, to say the truth, long acquaintance with his Majesty to appreciate quickly or fully what his broken English was intended to convey.¹

The relations between Ministers and Leicester House did not improve. George II. complained warmly of its extravagant behaviour, and the taking no notice there of anybody who had received Royal employments, and open countenance being given to those in violent opposition. The Court of Prussia would probably make some overture directly regarding the marriage. That would please people extremely, and make the refusal more difficult.² Had the Heir Apparent been of wandering or wayward disposition, the purpose of his grandfather would speedily have been fulfilled; but his Royal Highness, though desirous of having around him a staff of youthful nobles, whom he himself should name, was averse from any change of residence that implied separation from his mother. It was not easy to satisfy the claims of one-half the competitors for subordinate place, or to reconcile the other half to biding their time. The business-like leader of the Commons was not long in exacting his stipulated share of patronage; and Chesterfield, who could never resist the temptation to sarcasm, even when required to be stretched to snapping, wrote to Dayrolles (who was for him what Mann was to Horace Walpole): "Places are emptying and filling every day: the patriot of Monday is the courtier of Tuesday."

¹ Memoirs of Waldegrave.

² Newcastle to the Chancellor, 28th December, 1755.—MS.

out them, time only can show."¹ But, fond as Newcastle was of procrastination when the critical nature of affairs demanded decision, he was ever restless in devising subterfuge and make-believe when the course of ordinary events ran slow. "Could not the Archbishop be induced to request the omission of his name, which the King would be advised to grant? Something must be done before Parliament met or Ministers were undone. The only question was what that something should be : he was afraid he knew what it could not be."² His Excellency grew weary of the bickerings and personalities of provincial cliques whose politics lay in schemes for putting one another down. By midsummer his incarceration at the Castle, with its insanitary surroundings, became intolerable ; and he was glad to escape to Castletown, the best country house near Dublin, which he rented during the residue of his stay in Ireland.

To avoid affronting susceptibilities, he suggested that he should be empowered to appoint a Lord-Deputy, as had formerly been sometimes done. His plan was readily assented to, it being understood that the recent Lords Justices should be acquainted in private that their services would not be required next time. Stone would thereby be dropped out of the Executive without any bubbling emotion ; and then the Speaker might be restored to office without his party being afforded a personal triumph over that of his archiepiscopal opponent. If Lord Hertford would become Deputy, perhaps he would be best in his room. There was, however, no need of determining that point immediately, and as time went on the dream of resuscitating the obsolete name and function of Lord-Deputy passed away ; and he reverted to the ideas with which his father sympathised, when they talked together ere he set out on his difficult mission for building up a strong and reliable Executive in Ireland of Irish materials. He had chosen Conway for his right hand help with this view, and had no cause to regret his choice. Representing a great estate in Ulster, the Secretary abjured, silently but steadfastly, the traditions of absenteeism and the official belief so long insisted on at the Cockpit, that the appendant realm could only be kept fast by the great offices, civil and ecclesiastical, being filled by functionaries sent across the Channel.

¹ Hartington to Newcastle, 20th July, 1755.—MS. *

² To Hartington, 23rd July, 1755.—MS.

Grown tired of what he deemed equivocal silence, the Viceroy insisted upon knowing before the Irish Parliament met whether he should let it be understood definitively that Primate Stone was to be left out of the Commission of Lords Justices. He had stood out against it as long as possible, but without it there could not be peace or strength in Government, and when once this declaration was made, Government business would, he hoped, be done with ease, let who would be out of humour. It would come with a better grace at his own request.¹ There being, from contrary winds, two English packets due, Hartington was not aware that his suggestion had been anticipated, and the overdriven Minister excused his protracted silence by the absolute want of leisure from other anxieties.

It being resolved in any case to omit the Archbishop next time Lords Justices were named, Newcastle advised him confidentially to disclaim beforehand all desire for that trust, which, upon the whole, would be best for his own peace of mind and the welfare of the country.² Stone thereupon waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, and desired that his name might be withdrawn from any Executive Commission. There was at length a prospect that Government might be carried on without waste of time and temper in humouring the jealousies of cabals and cliques, and the country might be governed without respect of parties; and that those who sought favours from the Crown should think themselves obliged to it rather than to the strength of their local connections.³ Hartington was authorised in disposing of places and preferments to do as he thought best; and, like Sunderland and Carteret, he thought it best in general to put Irishmen by birth or property into Irish offices.⁴ In true consistency with his high sense of the value of paramount Imperialism, he recognised frankly the claims of native worth and merit, not merely as ticket-holders in the lottery of patronage, but as preferentially entitling loyal men in the vice-realm to honour and benefit. If his friend the Member for Antrim would rather fill some post in England or abroad, why should not his father be named Lord-Deputy when he himself was called to

¹ To Newcastle, from Castletown, 4th September, 1755.—MS.

² 30th August, 1755.—MS.

³ To Newcastle, 4th October, 1755.—MS.

⁴ See Vol. I., pp. 209, 339.

the question or questions, with an exceptional air of deference, was left to the arbitration of the King to say whether, as our naval preparations were now complete, further delay might not be inexpedient in striking a decisive blow, or whether the fleet should sail farther into the deep, without any direct instructions to the Admiral to fall upon the French fleet or their trade whilst negotiations were still pending.

Anson read a letter from Boscawen confessing that his success in American waters did not answer expectations.¹ To Hanover it was only reported that the Admiral had had ill luck, taking but two French ships, while the rest escaped in a fog, probably up the St. Lawrence. Accidents would occur, and it would now be no doubt deemed right that Hawke should go to sea. The secret agents in Paris wrote that on tidings of the naval engagement, orders to augment all the French forces were issued; but that being unprepared for an immediate rupture they only talked of doing great things in the spring.² Instructions were at last sent to Hawke to seize all French ships of the line, but not to molest isolated merchantmen, which would furnish a pretence for saying that we had begun the war in Europe for nothing: otherwise the war might be most probably begun here in forty-eight hours. By the manner in which the French had taken this affair, it was almost certain that they would begin by committing hostilities upon us, and then the Admiral would act without any restriction. The First Lord hoped "the King would approve of a caution which in his humble opinion could have no ill consequence, and which if not observed might, perhaps, have exposed us to disagreeable ones"³—(another low bow to the phantom of dead prerogative).

The Lord President resented strongly the refusal of Legge to sign the warrants under the Hessian Treaty, saying that Hanover must be made safe. Newcastle long wished him out of the Treasury; but thought he must not be totally disengaged. His late behaviour made it, however, impossible to keep him.⁴ Meanwhile better news arrived from Governor Shirley, and Dunk Halifax felt justified in congratulating his colleagues on the

¹ To Newcastle, from the Admiralty, 14th July, 1755.—MS.

² Through Hatton, received in London 20th July, 1755.—MS.

³ Newcastle to Holderness, 22nd July, 1755.—MS.

⁴ To Holderness, enclosing minute of the previous day, August 1st, 1755.—MS.

taking of Beausejour, which he thought outweighed many recent disappointments.

Letters of marque and reprisal were to be got in readiness for issue on a declaration of war. The Chancellor took the drafts with him to Wimpole to ponder at leisure each ingredient phrase ; so that Robinson comforted himself that "when digested they might serve both as a simple naked declaration of war, and afterwards, with proper references, in a quarto edition (*sic*), to the said documents, as *pièce justificatif*."¹ Granville was strongly against issuing the letters of marque as long as possible ; and Newcastle was of his opinion, as the French had not molested our trade ; for he thought we should be put to it why we did not declare war when we did the other.²

Disastrous news arrived that Braddock's army had been utterly routed near Fort Duquesne, on the banks of the Monongahela. He was taken by surprise by the combined forces of the French and Indians ; and a prolonged struggle ended in his sanguinary discomfiture, with the loss of standards, guns, and stores, and he himself was slain.

With his dying breath, the unhappy General commended his officers to their superiors for their intrepidity and fortitude, but declared that nothing could be worse than the behaviour of those they led.³

Orme, who succeeded to the command, made honourable mention of several officers, especially Washington, than whom no man could have behaved better.

A letter from Adam Stephens, who was in charge of the commissariat on the ill-fated march, confirmed in every particular the report of Orme. The private soldiers were entirely at a loss in the woods. The savages kept on their bellies in the bushes and behind the trees, and took deliberate aim, at our officers especially, most of whom were killed. The British regulars were thunderstruck to feel the effects of a heavy fire and see no enemy, and throwing away their arms they turned their backs and fled. "It ought to be laid down as a maxim to attack first, to fight them in their own way, light and naked as they come against us,

¹ Robinson to Newcastle, 15th August, 1755.—MS.

² Newcastle to the Chancellor, 22nd August, 1755.—MS.

³ Despatch from R. Orme, only surviving Aide-de-Camp, Fort Cumberland, 18th July 1755.—MS.

success ; so that there was a fair prospect of tranquillity on College Green.¹

His colleagues in the Cabinet congratulated the Viceroy on his success. Newcastle characteristically exulted in the cessation of controversies that wore the hated aspect of local patriotism, and chuckled at the acceptance of offices by members of the Irish Legislature, indistinguishable from those he was constantly offering with flattery to respectable men at St. Stephen's.

Fox was as little troubled by scruples regarding the use of Ministerial means of management ; but his broader nature led him to rejoice at the abatement of strife which he thought his friend had secured.

" His Majesty's consent has been obtained with Difficulty, and I cannot too much commend the Duke of Newcastle's behaviour. I followed him in the Closet where he gained the Consent this morning, and His Majesty began with me. He did not like rewarding Enemies, &c. I told him that your Grace found the opposing Party the majority ; but that I did not look upon this as buying the Speaker, but as buying the Government of Ireland into His Majesty's hands again. He said the next Speaker might behave well to you, to whom he was related so nearly, but might be as troublesome to Government hereafter as his predecessor. I answered that I verily believed you did not intend to put the next Speaker in the Government, but to lessen the power of the employment as well as change the person. (I know this was your intention, and hope and believe it is so still.) I fancy I did not say too much, and what I did say I thought pacified Him. But I claim no merit at the Duke's Expense, for he had got His Consent before, and looks upon it as I do to be a great and thorough Measure, that will make a peace, and a lasting one, and I heartily congratulate you upon it.

" I hope I do not mistake your intention to leave as Lords Justices the Chancellor, Lord Kildare, and Lord Bessborough. But of this your Grace is best judge, and you have shown your judgment, and will leave the country with the greatest honour and, I might say, triumph ; and, so leaving it, I most ardently wish it may be very soon. In the meantime we wrangle about nothing here ; and Pitt and I, upon a Motion to give some money

¹ Devonshire Papers, 2nd March, 1756.—MS.

to His Majesty for America, have been warmer than ever this very day." ¹

Three days later he wrote:—

" I must now explain the necessity of the sending two Battalions from Ireland to America. We cannot spare a man from hence; on the contrary, we have required both Dutch and Hessians; whether the former will be sent us is uncertain. But at present if we have secured the Metropolis, it is all. There is not in all the West and North of England a single Soldier. But your Grace will say, Ireland is in danger of Invasion, too. It is so; but you have a Militia and ability to raise troops, which we have not. Recruits come in very slowly. But then will your Grace consider that if Invasion or threats of Invasion from France can effect the keeping our Fleets and Troops at home, while they send regular Troops with their Fleets to North America, the object of the war will be lost in the first year of it; and delay would be as bad: for our being able to send to our Settlements before they can to theirs is our only advantage. America is in the utmost danger, and, without speedy assistance, our Military affairs there desperate. If a landing of any considerable Number of Men is effected in either Great Britain or Ireland, the one Island must certainly immediately assist the other. But America must not be given up to avoid danger incurred only on account of America. Ireland will not willingly see Her Troops drawn away at this time; but it is, I think, unavoidable. I will show your Grace's letter, you may depend, to the Duke only. The King leaves Councils of this sort to other people. The Proposal of sending two Battalions to America came first from the Duke of Newcastle.

" Pitt has, the four last times he has spoke, made such violent Speeches (not good ones of their kind) upon such trifling matter, which I have been obliged to take such advantage of, that he is lowered and I am raised by it beyond what his Enemys or my warmest Friends could have wished. On Wednesday, upon moving Money to be given to N. America, he said I talked Gibberish; had moved the Money perhaps in order to get sham Receipts from the Colonies, and let the Money be sunk in some corrupt, avaricious, etc., corner of the Court, and he believed there was such an Intention; then he arraigned all that had been done

¹ Fox to Devonshire, 28th Jan., 1756.—MS.:

plimentary present in cash advanced by the commercial house of Wolff on the credit of the Embassy.¹

Circumstantial details came at last of the preparations at Toulon for the threatened expedition to Minorca. Six ships of the line were in the roads and five frigates ready to follow. Fourteen battalions and a train of artillery awaited embarkation. Spain was invited to join with fifteen men-of-war, to take a detachment of the Irish Brigade on board, and attack Gibraltar, which, with Minorca, was to revert to Spain. A squadron under Admiral Conflans was getting ready at Brest, gathering trading and fishing craft to be used as transports, in order to oblige the British Government to keep large armaments near home. Eight men-of-war were to be fitted out with eighteen 24-pounders, each on their upper decks, with 4,000 men on board, to reinforce the garrisons in Canada. They had tried every method to obtain the services of the young Chevalier, but he had refused every offer; and without a body of 15,000 men he would not move. They had even tried to bring the old Pretender to France, but he declared that he would pass the remainder of his days in peace, and Court rivalries at Versailles paralysed effective action.² Charles Edward was at this time living near Paris, but was known to be averse to any attempt at invasion; he was not himself to head, as in spite of all that had happened ten years before, he still dreamt that the Highlanders would rise at his call.

Cressener, writing from Cologne for remittances, said that he had advanced his agent in Paris £1,500 and paid him besides the £1,000 sent in June, 1755, by the First Lord of the Treasury. The extraordinary expenses incurred at Liège in dealing with the Chapter there—the Etat Noble, and the Tiers Etat, amounted to £900, and his own at Brussels were £200 more; but he would give an aquittance in full for another thousand “and balance the account. He fancied this would be deemed a very moderate and just demand. He hoped that £1,200 a year would be the least that would be given him for his expenses at Cologne; though he must spend more: but he was willing to leave all to the equity and humanity of his Grace.”³

Corroborative information of the threatened expedition against

¹ Despatch from Sir C. H. Williams, 19th February, 1756.

² Secret despatch from Versailles, through Cressener, 17th March, 1756.

³ M. Cressener, 22nd March, 1756.—A.S.

Minorca was received early in March through Gibraltar.¹ Twenty-two sail of the line, and a well-equipped force were under sail for Port Mahon ; for the defence of which General Blakeney had collected in Fort St. Phillip, a place of great natural strength, what troops were left in the island.¹

Sir Benjamin Keene was confident that the ideas uppermost at the Court of Madrid were " peace in general and friendship in particular " ; and that if England continued to observe the distinction at sea between the ships of Spain and those of her belligerent neighbour, she had nothing to fear from the enticing offers which had recently been made, for the Court had been taught to believe that the preservation of England's interests in the New World had a nearer relation to Spain than to any other Power. Slow but steady progress had been made in the French alliance with Austria. The chief terms were : Silesia to be recovered for the Empire ; Prince Charles of Lorraine to be King of Poland ; Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to be restored to the Empress-Queen ; Flanders to be given to Don Philip, and Minorca to Spain. Their Catholic Majesties looked with distrust on the Franco-Austrian Alliance, which they regarded as dissolving all existing Treaties.²

Having, as they really seem to have believed, hushed the innocent ambition of Frederick to sleep, the Cabinet directed Holderness, in a long argumentative despatch, to instruct Keith how he might lull Maria Theresa into abandoning all thoughts of recovering Silesia, and in future keeping the peace of Europe. Keith was, therefore, to ask an explanation from the Austrian Government as to its intentions.³

To meet the contingency of invasion, German auxiliaries were said to be necessary ; but the Cabinet were divided as to whence they should be sought. Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Anson were for calling on the Dutch to send over the six battalions they were bound to furnish. Granville, Gower, and Fox, more discerning and energetic, foretold a refusal, and urged an immediate summons of the Hessian contingent in British pay. Their advice was over-ruled, and after another month had been wasted in futile correspondence with the Hague, Murray was desired to

¹ George Burges, to Secretary of State, from Gibraltar, 21st February, 1756.—MS.

² Keene to Secretary Fox, Madrid, 1st and 22nd March, 1756.—MS.

³ 23rd March, 1756.—MS.

stood better than anyone else their motives and manners. Others, who thought themselves equally fit to judge, spoke to him in directly the opposite vein; "and if Stone only knew half the strong things he said to them, he would think himself very well off. He included every friend he had, except Murray and Stone, not excepting the King. This ought to mollify him, and prevent his taking advantage of a hasty expression."¹ But he had not the manliness to offer to say half as much to him whose real fault was that he felt his intellectual superiority to his patron.

Fox had conducted affairs in Parliament during the Session with signal ability. Excepting the Militia Bill, all the measures of Government had been carried by disciplined majorities, and if all his promises to pay in honours and rewards had not been realised, it was not his fault. Peerages were conferred on Thomas Villiers, second son of Lord Jersey, and Sir Dudley Ryder, who had for two years filled the office of Chief Justice, but whose sudden death occurred ere his patent was completed. The Chief Justiceship was not so easily disposed of, and it became the subject of prolonged discussion for months to come.

Symptoms of declining capacity to guide, on the part of Ministers, were manifold during the Session, and towards its close there were not wanting many who prognosticated their fall. From Chatsworth, the unambitious Viceroy noted the expressions of discontent in the manufacturing towns, and the numerous addresses and gold boxes voted to Legge and Pitt.² Still, there seemed upon the surface no reason to suppose that uncombined manifestations of distrust could seriously disturb the tenancy by prescription of Government, though the wax-lights of St. Stephen's and the Cockpit burned dim.

Rigby kept the only chief to whom he really felt allegiance faithfully advised of all that was going on in the official world. While Court and fashion languished through the sunny days of May in trying to devise novelties of amusement, and Whitehall had nothing more interesting to talk of than subordinate pensions or contingent election schemes, he sent few missives to Woburn, and spent his leisure hours in hard drinking or high

¹ First Lord to Attorney-General, 30th May, 1756.—*M.S.*

² Notes on his own Administration.—*M.S.*

play. But on the 3rd of June he had to report a sudden change of scene long unprecedented at the headquarters of English rule, the strange and startling cause of which remains to this hour unexplained, if not inexplicable. "An express arrived yesterday from Gibraltar, and the intelligence has occasioned the sitting at this instant of perhaps one of the wisest councils in the world."

Anxious suspense regarding Byng was terminated by the receipt of a despatch from Gibraltar announcing the arrival of the squadron there on the second of May and the decision of a Council of War refusing to denude the fortress of any portion of the garrison. At the same time, the Spanish Ambassador furnished Secretary Fox with the copy of a letter from Admiral Galissonnière to his Government describing an indecisive collision of the two fleets off Port Mahon, and the disappearance of the English the following day without any attempt to relieve St. Philip. Acting on the first impulse of indignation, and without waiting for further details, the Cabinet ordered Admirals Hawke and Saunders to proceed forthwith in the *Antelope* to Gibraltar with what was described as a small cargo of courage, consisting of Generals Tyrawley and Panmure, and to bring home in arrest Admirals Byng and West. Tyrawley was appointed Governor of Gibraltar. Fox lost no time in acquainting Devonshire with the evil tidings:

"On Monday came cursed letters, and more cursed Council of War from Gibraltar, together with a Letter from Byng to the Admiralty of much the same tenor. One Expression is that He shall go and see what can be done to relieve Minorca (carrying no Relief), and if he finds things as he expects, he will return to save Gibraltar. You will see by the Extract of D'Abreu's Letters and relation enclosed that he did go, found the French fleet where we wished them, and inferior, and how infamously and fatally our Fleet behaved. We have nothing from them, but I doubt not our first news will be that Byng is returned to Gibraltar, and that a Council of War says he did wisely. The Consternation, anger, and shame of everybody here on this occasion is extreme. Lord Tyrawley is going to supersede Fowke, and two Admirals, who will be fixed upon to-night. If Byng and West can excuse themselves, amends must be made them. But the Fleet, sufficiently dispirited I dare say already, must not be left so till

pidity, but he thought it was absolutely necessary to get the Earl of Bute or Mr. Pitt and that family.¹

Now and then Chesterfield loved reminding his late colleagues of how able an adviser they had lost, particularly with regard to foreign affairs. Lord Marchmont had told him that nobody above a *Chargé d'affaires* should be sent to Berlin, in fact, a sort of M. Mitchell. Things were happily well with that Court, but "no one of a superior order would go there who was fit to go ; and one who was not fit for it would, however, think that he must be busy and probably spoil business. Rank without ability and dexterity make a very bad foreign Minister, but it is easy to be shrewd, witty, and patriotic out of office, when one has not to think of all the nonentities and well-bred importunes that remain to be provided for."

A Cabinet was summoned for the 20th of July, the Lord Privy Seal, Marlborough, and Dorset were out of town, but Devonshire, Rutland, and Grafton were summoned. The Lord President, the Chancellor, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Newcastle, and the two Secretaries of State, remained. The loss of the island seems to have been exaggerated by the craven fear of administrative blame. There was hardly any possession beyond sea, except Ireland, on which so great a value had been set, and no expense was said to be too great for its recovery, were that possible. The first Lord set forth in a letter to Hardwicke what he called the facts. "The honour and reputation of the King and the Nation must suffer greatly by its being so scandalously torn from us—and with it all the weight and influence it gave over all the considerable powers in the Mediterranean ; not to mention valuable employments possessed by good friends which must now drop. When the Nation suffers, ill-humours and malicious representations will have their effect, and we must not expect to be without our share of it." In a letter to the Chancellor, he said, "I know the Opposition will endeavour, if possible, to fling it singly upon me, or to make me answerable for other people's neglects and weaknesses. It cannot be expected that I should take the blame of a miscarriage where I had no other share than every member of the Council who was consulted. In the first place, I don't know that there was any fault ; I don't remember that anyone proposed sending

¹ West to Newcastle, 24th July, 1756.—MS.

out a ship to the Mediterranean until the order for Byng's squadron was given. The fact is, we had not ships to send without exposure at home. Mr. Fox does not believe we had ; but his mode of talking gives credit to the contrary, as well as to the notion that *he was for sending sooner and more*. But if Byng had done his duty, it is certain that the French fleet would have been beat, and the siege raised. Sir John Ligonier says the assault was a very desperate attempt though it succeeded. To this, therefore, we must bring it, and those who will not assist us in it are not our friends. I hope you will talk seriously to Lord Anson to prepare materials for our defence, and also—what is of more consequence—for the immediate trial and condemnation of Admiral Byng if, as I think there can be no doubt, he deserves it. The sea-officers should be learned to talk in this manner, and not to think to fling the blame upon civil Ministers. You know how little share we have in military operations, or in the choice of military men either at sea or by land, and it would be very unjust for us to suffer where we have scarce been consulted :¹ utterly ignoring the fact, already stated, that he had forced the unhappy Admiral to take command against his prayer to be passed over as unfit.² Such was the thesis on which the Cabinet was to deliberate ; and here at last we have revealed the secret history of Byng's immolation.

Hardwicke, to whom these cowardly suggestions were addressed, noticed them only as too important to be answered in writing. He was the keeper of the King's conscience, not of his chief Ministers', and he deferred committing himself to any judgment of life or death where an honourable man and the character of the British Navy were concerned before he had had the benefit of trial. What passed at the Cockpit the following night, where three-fourths of the Cabinet assembled, we know not, but it is not too much to say that if, before they met, Hardwicke had knocked on the head the iniquitous suggestions of Newcastle as incompatible with every feeling of self-respect or public justice, Byng would never have been their victim.

A scene of unusual animation occurred when the two Secretaries of State met in the royal closet on the 19th July. Fox attacked his colleague pretty warmly for agreeing in opinion.

¹ Newcastle to the Chancellor, 19th July, 1756.—MS.

² See page 96.

was impossible now to go back. Lady Yarmouth was strong against any retraction, and thought it would do the King great prejudice in the opinion of people.

Nothing would induce Waldegrave to take part in the new arrangements. In his letter asking permission to retire, he said that recent circumstances had been such that no temper not absolutely callous could remain unmoved. "Things had been said to him which he could never forget ; and he had made such answers as could never be forgiven."¹ The Cabinet repeatedly discussed the matter, but came to no conclusion. Devonshire said their duty was to prevent a rupture in the Royal Family. Granville said it was certain to happen. The King would treat Bute like a footman, and he would treat the young Lords appointed to be about the Prince in the same manner. This Royal Family had quarrelled and would quarrel from generation to generation. After all, Royalty, as usual, had to yield. The King informed Waldegrave on the 17th September that Fox and Barrington had represented to him the necessity for the conduct of Government business that they should have the support of Leicester House in the coming session, and he wished him, therefore, to see the Princess Dowager and her son, and obtain from them, in writing, binding assurances to that end if he yielded about Bute. His Lordship urged that someone of more weight, not so intimate and less inveterately distrusted, should undertake the mission, "with whom they would be less likely to shuffle than him," and in deference to the First Lord he named the Chancellor as the person to exact the essential terms ; or if he declined it might be thrown upon the Lord President, who would not refuse, and might, after all, do it as well as anybody. This caused the delay of another week, at the end of which Hardwicke was to be in town. In the prevailing discontent and depression, of which fresh proofs reached him daily, Newcastle was sorry that his correspondent could suggest no way of stemming the torrent in the House of Commons.

The King, though uneasy, doubted that things were as bad as they seemed, for the Duke of Grafton had told him that the people of England went back as fast as they came on when once it appeared that their clamour had been without foundation. The King said that when the truth should appear he did not

¹ Waldegrave to the First Lord, 14th June, 1756.—M.S.

imagine that they would lose so many in Parliament as would leave Government in a minority. Newcastle replied, that "they did not so much fear numbers as *hands and tongues* in the House of Commons. How could they depend solely on one man? His Majesty said they must get others and seemed on the point of making some proposal, but stopped short abruptly." Lady Yarmouth would give no opinion about Bute, for Waldegrave had told her he was not sure that even yielding with regard to him would secure the support of Leicester House. If it was necessary, the King would take Mr. Pitt, in the room of Mr. Fox.

She had before said that Mr. Pitt had a better turn for the Closet than the other. She certainly wished him to be Secretary of State, and would not yield in the case of Bute. She talked much against his rival and would have the King insist upon his giving his thoughts in writing. It is clear that on Newcastle's offer to resign more than one of those concerned in a change of Executive hands bethought them of new combinations. Fox, as his letters to Chatsworth and Woburn show, thought the Cabinet not only water-logged, but fast settling down in the troubled sea; and he began to prepare for his own escape to shore. To call in Pitt as was suggested, in order that they might act conjointly in the House of Commons, involved the contingency of his being left, he foresaw, at some critical moment, the choice of submitting to be overridden by his only rival, or of flinging himself out of the window to be pitied or jeered at for his pains. He could bear the prospect of neither contingency; but was it not possible, under a splendid show of magnanimity to make a stroke better than any that had been proposed to him? He had been Secretary of State and successful leader of the House. What could he be more? The crowd were noisy and unjust; the King fretful and difficult; his Cabinet colleagues suspicious and jealous; and at threescore he was tired and wanted to enjoy in the evening of life the liberty and luxury he loved. What if he should offer to descend a round or two of the ladder for sake of permanent hold of the Pay Office, where his grandfather had grown rich before him, and where Calcraft and Rigby and other devoted subordinates showed him there were perquisite mines hitherto not half opened, but which would prove inexhaustible in time of war. Warily unfolding his self-denying scheme to Lady Yarmouth and the

CHAPTER XI.

GOING TO WRECK.

1756.

Newcastle Offers to Resign—Death of Ryder—What would Murray do?—Pitt's Plan of a Ministry—Newcastle and Hardwicke Retire—Leicester House for Pitt—No Premier—Fox Fears he has Over-reached himself—Who at the Head: Devonshire or Pitt?—A New Cabinet—Pitt Secretary, Devonshire First Lord Murray Chief Justice.

EVERYONE had come to the conviction that Pitt was indispensable. But how was he to be assimilated and absorbed?

After an audience with the King, the First Lord wrote: "The business is done; but we must strike while the iron is hot. I found the King in good humour. I began with the paper I had seen, and showed how insidious, and even false, it was in every part: the introduction, as if we had proposed or mentioned Pitt to him, and he always deferring to the King. What is to be done, my Lord? The King said: 'I know a person of consequence, sense, and good intention' (which person I know to be Lord Hyde), 'said that there were but three things: to take in Pitt; to make up with my own family; and, my Lord, I have forgot the third. Pitt, says the person, is a man that, when once he has taken a part, will go through with it steadily, honourably, and more ably than Fox.' 'That, sir,' says I, 'everybody says.' I then read him an extract from your last letter, which had such an effect that he bade me have Pitt sounded as to whether he would come and be Secretary of State, and if he would, he should have a good reception. Granville told me he found the King was so angry with Fox that he would rather have anybody than him. He underlined the paper in Granville's presence, to show him what part he was offended at. He said he had had too much of Fox. He enumerated all the places

and graces which he had shown him (I put his Majesty *au fait*), and he told Lord President to tell Fox that he was much offended at this step." Granville undertook to report what had been said, but omitted the strong things, which could only tend to further alienation : for he wished him still to alter his mind if only for one Session. But the question of the King, "What is to be done if Pitt will not come," Newcastle "owned he could not answer. The King asked : 'Suppose Pitt would not serve with Newcastle?' 'Then, sir, I must go.' He said most graciously, 'I know your faults, but I know also your integrity and zeal for me.' 'That, sir, will be the same.' 'But you will not be able to do the same service when you are not in the Ministry?' 'If, sir, there is a concert between Fox and Pitt, they must make the Administration.' Holderness went into the Closet after Granville. The King gave him the paper to give to me ; told him the parts he had marked, and why he had marked them ; but said not one word of Pitt."

Newcastle and Holderness went next to the Lady, whom they found quite altered, and speaking good things of Pitt. "There was not a moment to be lost ; for if Granville should persuade Fox to let his Majesty know that as he was offended with him he would stay, where would they be?" But Holderness, Newcastle, and Lady Yarmouth agreed that the Chancellor should come forthwith to town and in person open negotiation with Pitt. "This is now in your Lordship's power ; don't boggle at it. You see the King wishes it. Lady Yarmouth advises it ; and if it is not done before Lord President returns to Court, to-morrow, and the Duke of Cumberland sees the King on Sunday, nobody can tell whether it will be done at all."¹

All this ferment and fuss was to no purpose. Granville sincerely strove to accomplish what he had promised ; but he reasoned and pleaded in vain.

The Lord Chamberlain, Grafton, was summoned immediately to town to confer on the new condition of affairs ; but as yet there was no definite plan for reconstructing the Cabinet.

In rejoinder to kind expressions from Devonshire, who deprecated resignation, Fox passionately replied, in terms that fix indelibly the oligarchic brand upon the system of rule against

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 15th Oct., 1756.—MS.

Murray could not bring himself to ask for the first judicial place at Common Law. It was his right, beyond all question or quibble, as *facile princeps* in the profession, and, except the Great Seal, there was nothing ~~it~~ : Crown could offer him worthy of being named in comparison with the Presidency of the Court of King's Bench. He had fought a long fight for the party in power, and on all hands it was acknowledged with signal ability and success. Nor friend nor foe would ascribe to vanity his admission that to quit the arena of debate for the judgment-seat would be an irreparable loss to Government, and that on the other hand the gain would be all his in safety, ease, and length of days. His ducal patron did not pretend the contrary ; but could no elements be found of compensation for the waiving of such advantages ?

• On one thing only Murray had made up his mind, but about that he would not argue or listen to argument : he would not consent to be passed over. For the rest, they might do what they pleased, and they might do so without unworthy fear that he would in any case turn against them, for he had in him a spirit, incomprehensible to most men of his time, that of self-respect, above the respect, affected or real, of those around him. In the long discussions that ensued he failed, of course, to make this understood by either Newcastle or the Chancellor. To them he spoke as one that mocked. They went on for weeks spinning elaborate webs of cajolery and compromise, in the hope that in some one of them their incomprehensible friend might be caught at last, and induced to remain their official adviser and advocate, suffering some third or fourth rate practitioner to be put above his head as Chief Justice. At first Newcastle threw himself abjectly on the generosity of his friend : " Every man who pretends to be Minister in this country is a fool if he acts a day without the House of Commons ; and a greater fool if he depends on any of whom he cannot be sure. Experience shows that I must answer for everything. The same experience shows me that nobody but yourself will or can support me in the House of Commons against a formidable opposition and in such a critical conjuncture. No man—no ten men—can be brought to supply your place. The Speaker says it must be done out of Opposition ; others will say Mr. Fox. What a case should I be in if that was my sole dependence ? But if I was dupe enough to do

it I am sure Fox cannot if he would. Pitt would bear him down before the Session was half over ; and that Chesterfield said to me yesterday, though he is much your friend. What then must be the consequence?—a coalition between Fox and Pitt, sacrificing me, could I with honour to the King retire from business ; and if you can suggest to me, or even give it as your opinion that I can retire with honour and credit, I will not say one word more to you upon the subject. Our friend Stone said wisely : the Attorney-General out of the House ; Fox disengaged ; the probability of a breach in the Royal Family ; an alliance between Austria and France ; four terrible events—and, what is worse, not in my power to prevent any one of them. All you can say is, Fox will be sincere if I will let him. I answer, he can't do it if he would. Debates must be of foreign affairs, and the difficulties occasioned by the war. Of the first he is totally ignorant, and Pitt must be his master. As to the latter, he will not, like you, probe the wound to the bottom ; he will endeavour to skin it over, and naturally to let it light upon himself as little as possible. But if I was as satisfied as you may be that he would do his best, and act a right part in everything towards me, my own friends with whom I must live and act are so firmly convinced of the contrary that I could not bring one of them to act towards Mr. Fox as they ought to do. And in what situation am I then? I agree Fox thinks it his interest to show all possible regard and attention to you. I really believe he means it ; but I don't believe that he would long be sorry to be without you in the House of Commons. The world and Mr. Fox know your goodness to me. That may make him depend upon me. That once gone, I must depend upon him—and that is a sore dependence. But I own it would be most cruel to insist upon your remaining in the House of Commons if you don't see the force and reason of it. You have a right to the Chief Justiceship. It would be hard in the King to refuse the Peerage. I would blame you for taking the position without it. But I cannot agree with you that all considerations to induce you to stay in the Commons are but honourable pensions. Your case is Sir Robert Walpole's, though in a higher degree. Sir Robert might have had a *deputy* in the House of Commons who could have done his business, if his own jealousy would have permitted him to have had one. The King can have no deputy but yourself. No one has seen a word

sions. He told Wilmot "that upon cool reflection he could not expect that Pitt would let him be both, which, in fact, would be making him Minister; and that, therefore, he was willing to accept the second place at the Treasury under a proper person (not an old sour Courtier that should be like a schoolmaster over him), and under no one so soon as Devonshire."¹

The Duke asked Fox his opinion of Pitt's list, and he returned it at once with one in his own handwriting, relying on its never being shown to anyone as his, which comprehended several additional appointments and promotions and substituted for Dupplin's name his own as Paymaster of the Forces. He stipulated that Hamilton and Sloper as his personal friends should be provided for. He did not want a Peccage for himself, but thought one should be conferred on Hillsborough. He proposed Temple for the Board of Trade instead of the Admiralty if Anson resigned; replacing him with Halifax. Berkeley in this curious document is named as possible First Lord of the Treasury, in case Devonshire should be disinclined to undertake financial responsibility; and preferred being President of the Council or Privy Seal.²

The omission of Devonshire in Pitt's lists can only be accounted for on the supposition that his acceptance of the Treasury was taken for granted. Yet in some of his communications with Woburn and Chatsworth, Fox would seem to have forgotten in his excitement the indelible distinction of birth and fortune between him and the haughty allies he was tempted to treat as if they were adherents. Instead of obeying his beckoning to conference at Holland House, the Lords of Chatsworth and Woburn intimated through the Lord of Blenheim that they three would dine with him at the King's Head at Kensington, where he only ventured to bring Rigby with him to receive them. Bedford, who had no political secrets from his wife, describes what passed. On his arrival at the Inn he found only his Grace of Marlborough, the Treasurer of the Navy, and their host. All were hopeful and exultant over the subversion of the decrepit despotism they equally disliked, and all seemed confident that the possession of power was at hand. "When the Duke of

¹ Wilmot to Devonshire, 30th October, 1756.—MS.

² Devonshire Papers, November, 1756.—MS.

Devonshire came in, and we had dined, and Mr. Rigby had retired, we began to talk of the business of our meeting with assurances of good wishes each to the other."¹

While pondering opposite pretensions and counsels, the Minister designate received a letter from Pitt which has still in every turn of phrase the freshness of vigour and vanity of that most singular man. Unwilling to be thought an invalid at the crisis of his fortune, and equally unwilling to be even suspected of dancing attendance on the wearer of anything less than a crown, he wrote: "A little medicine I have taken hinders me from doing myself the honour to wait on your Grace at this hour. I will therefore beg leave to trouble you with this line to let your Grace know that I have talked with Lord Temple upon the subject of the Admiralty, and that though I found him full of just apprehensions of taking such a load upon him, yet if it be His Majesty's pleasure, and shall be thought by your Grace right for the whole, he will not decline, dangerous as it is, to endeavour to do his best in that most difficult department. The more I consider, the more strongly I am struck with the endless and incurable prejudices to the King's service which must, in this temper of the world and state of things, result from Lord Holderness continuing to serve his Majesty as Secretary of State. His Lordship still in that station, I have no ground to hope that the spirit of inquiry can be temperate or that public jealousies will ever be cured. If Sir Thomas Robinson could be made a peer, and Secretary of State, the King would find in him an old servant his Majesty would be easy with, and I a colleague very able to supply my very many and great defects, in an office I am a stranger to. I will likewise add that if his Majesty can ever honour me with his confidence, I can certainly be of far more use to his affairs in the Northern department than in the Southern. It is surely, my Lord, for his Majesty's dignity and repose to do whatever his Majesty shall in his great prudence judge proper in this very dangerous conjuncture, in a manner effectual to the object proposed to compose, and at the same time reanimate the nation. Without this I foresee instability, fluctuation of councils, no system, and impending ruin. All this I submit to your Grace, and to that dispassionate and truly public spirit with which I have the comfort to see you actuated, and

¹ To the Duchess from Bedford House, 2nd November, 1756.

their share of his bountiful dispensation, and the family at his retirement was passing rich.

The Great Seal was put in Commission, Henley and Charles Yorke being Attorney and Solicitor-General. Dr. Sympson was removed to make room for Mr. Hay as Judge-Advocate, but comparatively few changes on the whole took place in subordinate offices.

Henry Fox was happier than he had been for many years. With the coveted key of the locker secured at last in reversion, the delight of his life was to be trusted as steersman. Rough weather and dark nights served only to prove his vigilance and skill. He was content that the captain should seem to be everything if only nothing were done without his advice. Favours and jobs, votes and the men for voting, levées and quiet dinners, were alike in his way. From his brother-in-law's house —Privy Gardens, over against the Treasury—he could communicate from time to time with Devonshire almost unobserved, for he well knew of the mischief of being too much *en evidence*. He had dropped out of the running for power in order to grow rich and to rule, and he was too shrewd to remind the envious world of what he was about in either respect. Here is a specimen of his free-and-easy way of keeping in hand the new Knight of the Garter: "I shall dine quite alone at Holland House, and be very proud of your Grace's company to-morrow. I shall be at Leicester House, but, as your Grace must be there too, you won't want dinner before four. I have set up Lord Powerscourt for Stockbridge. He was recommended to me some months ago by Lord Kildare, and I know his firm attachment to your Grace. It is a proof of it that his first cousin, Mr. More, would not go down till I took it upon me to answer that you could not take it ill. The election is quite sure against Dr. Hay, who, I suppose, will not appear, and I fancy sure against any other person who may come unless with such a sum of money as must conquer anything."

To the suggestion that he should be Treasurer of the Navy, and George Grenville Paymaster, he gave a contemptuous negative. By way of making his disposition known, he had set up Lord Powerscourt at Stockbridge to keep out Dr. Hay, one of the new Board of Admiralty. The Duke of Bedford would have dissuaded him from thus suddenly going into Opposition, but

felt so strongly the manner in which he had been treated that he refused himself to take the Lieutenancy of Ireland unless his friend had some considerable employment, or a peerage were conferred on Lady Caroline. In reply, Fox besought the Duke to accept regardless of the prescription laid on him by the new Ministers. "Sooner or later they were likely to agree with him if he kept the honour and strength that his Grace and other friends had given him, and he would not fly off so as to lose sight of, much less prevent, such an agreement. He gave his word that whenever H.R.H., his Grace, and the Duke of Marlborough, or any two of them, should tell him that it was, in their opinion, for the good of the public, there was nobody he would not shake hands with, no terms he would not submit to. But he differed as to the manner of bringing to agreement such insolent men. He had offered to join them cordially without being of the Cabinet. This only induced the insolent proposal that Grenville should be Paymaster and he Treasurer of the Navy; and then they were angry that he should oppose Dr. Hay. Public measures he would support, that there might be a quiet Session. He saw danger of their joining Newcastle, but his Grace taking Ireland, and his showing strength in the House of Commons (for personal complaisance did harm and spoilt them), might effectually prevent it."¹

Stockbridge had belonged to Sir Robert Henley, then Attorney-General, who, when he needed it no longer, let it on lease to Mr. Fox for ten years, should he live so long; and he having paid for it in cash, not unnaturally thought he had a right to do what he pleased with his own. He was nettled at the attempt to set aside his nominee for a friend of Legge. The man of accumulating investments in stocks, boroughs, and estates, was not to be overruled or cajoled by the whispered assertion of the theory that, though not in the Cabinet, he was bound to subserve the general interest at the sacrifice of his own predilections. "Lord Powerscourt's election is sure; Stockbridge is mine for ten years. Their superlative insolence of imagining I should be afraid is a fresh insolence, and will not provoke me from the purpose of coolly and firmly supporting the King's measures, and your Grace at the head of them. On this you may absolutely depend. What I wish most is what I cannot get, what I least desire is to

¹ 23rd November, 1756.

must take the consequences. He would have them, but he would not keep them long. It was no little gratification to Pitt to have clutched the share of supreme administrative power he claimed by right divine of genius; and cling to it he would in spite of innumerable slights and affronts by implication. He agreed accordingly to modify more than one turn of phrase in the proposed Speech, "making all possible abridgments, and very sorry that his Majesty should have one that would spread less satisfaction."¹

He held "a small meeting at his house" on the evening of the 30th, begging Devonshire, Holderness, and Temple to come as he was imprisoned by the gout, a Cabinet being summoned at the Cockpit for the next day.² A curious chink in Ministerial confidence, this, for an expelled colleague to peer through. His Grace received, meanwhile, a note from his successor, begging the favour of a visit from him at Piccadilly at seven in the evening;³ the Cabinet assembling usually at nine. A modification of phrase in the Address of the Lords was there arranged, without the cognisance of Holderness, of which, maladroitly, he told its author in his next confidential note he disapproved.⁴

George II. insisted that words should be interpolated in the draft Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, thanking his Majesty for bringing over the Hanoverian troops, against which the leaders of Opposition had railed so loudly and so long. Temple was absent through illness from the Cabinet at which the draft was finally read, and in which strong exceptions were taken to the words proposed. Pitt was not prepared to take a decision by vote; and his reluctant acquiescence was consequently given. On being informed of what was about to be thus submitted to both Houses, Temple warned the First Lord of his resolution to dissent in his place as a Peer from the expressions in question. "I will go down to the House of Lords tomorrow and lay my thoughts before them in the fullest and clearest manner, and if I should not be able to do it then, I will take the first opportunity I can of discrediting myself and my own honour. This is a very unfortunate step at the outset, and

¹ From Hayes, 23rd November, 1756.—MS.

² Holderness to Newcastle, 29th November, 1756.—MS.

³ Devonshire to Newcastle, 29th November, 1756.—MS.

⁴ To Newcastle, 1st December, 1756.—MS.

such an one as Mr. Pitt and I judge will tend to the speedy dissolution of a system of which I cannot make a part longer than I am able to prove myself consistent with myself. I feel very unhappy in being obliged to give your Grace this trouble, and it is very unfit for me in my present state to attend so much to business; but I owe it to justice and to the frankness and sincerity your Grace has always treated me with to apprise you of my intentions the very first moment I can."¹

One of the debatable topics in the Speech and Address was that of Inquiry into the past conduct of the War, for which Pitt, amid the cheers of the Tory country gentlemen, had pledged himself to vote, and which he could not now forego in office without certainly losing their support. Hardwicke asked him how long he hoped to keep it. "Well," he said, laughing, "for this Session, at all events." The ex-Chancellor said that he and his seceding colleagues had nothing to fear, but they ascribed such a proceeding to the instigation of Holland House. This he warmly disclaimed, and said emphatically that he "would never have anything to do with Mr. Fox"; while he was profuse in his compliments to Hardwicke himself.² They interchanged pledges of secrecy as to what passed in this conversation, which took place in the bedroom of the Minister, where he had received the unexpected visit of conciliation.

The Address as altered was voted, and the King, it was rumoured, told Pitt he wished a similar clause to be inserted in that of the Commons. Pitt refused, and said he would be obliged himself to oppose it, on which Granville intervened and advised the King to give way.³

Holderness found it impossible to forget the pit out of which he had been digged. He continued regularly to furnish copies of the foreign despatches to Claremont. On the 7th December he desired Mr. Jones to apologise for not having been able to send the last Dutch papers, which were so voluminous that he had hardly time to get through them before sending them to Devonshire House, thence to be forwarded to his new colleague; but as soon as they were returned to him full abstracts would be forwarded to Newcastle.

¹ Temple to Devonshire, 1st December, 1756. —MS.

² Hardwicke to Newcastle, 6th December, 1756. —MS.

³ Glover's "Memoirs," 103.

and hold the French in check between the Elbe and Rhine. Pitt was prompt in commanding it to the Duke of Cumberland ; and the ex-Ministers concurred, with a certain under-growl at the burthen it would entail on English finance ; with not unreasonable wonder how the new Secretary could so soon bring himself to look in the face the Committee of Supply whom he had so often warned that the National Credit tottered on the brink of ruin ; but of course he might mystify them into believing that the extra cost in future was the price we must pay for Administrative shortcomings in the past. Frederick's *mémoire raisonné* went straight for Pitt and the Tories. The project of raising Highland regiments for service in America was not quite new. It had been, like that for the conquest of Corsica, and the recovery of Minorca, chatted over during the summer more than once ; and, though left to die still-born, Newcastle thought its resuscitation ought properly to bear his name. Hardwicke, indeed, ventured, in conversation with Pitt, to hint a doubt and hesitate dislike because, when Lord Loudon raised a Corps of Claymores in 1744, they all deserted to the Pretender. But the Secretary only smiled at the precedent, and said the case was different now, and as few of them were likely to come back from Canada, it did not very much matter.

But if it was true that expeditions on an expensive and expansive scale were meditated in both the East and West Indies, besides fleets and armies nearer home, the ex-First Lord of the Treasury trembled at the prospect. The Commander-in-Chief was quite against embodying the Highland infantry, which he ascribed to Argyll ; and giving the colonelcy of a battalion to Captain Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, who was executed on Tower Hill, was interpreted by many to be a Jacobite move, and the first step to breaking down the system of rule established in Scotland after the last rebellion. Perhaps it was meant to bring the young Master of Lovat in for Inverness next time ;¹ but Argyll declared that not a Fraser would enlist unless they were commanded by their hereditary chief.

Frederick, like Pitt, "put the King and the Whig opposition out of the question. Pitt depended on the Tories and the populace for his support, and when he could not have that he would go out. Devonshire must colour at joining the Tories after the

¹ Hardwicke to Newcastle, 7th Jan., 1757.—MS.

infamous reproach that they so lately cast upon others (he meant himself); but he had done wondering at anything." Yet Hardwicke thought Pitt's praise of Devonshire had in it "more of suspicion than panegyric."¹

At a Cabinet at his house in February, Pitt proposed adding Lord Cornwallis and Lord John Hay as Majors-General in the expedition to guard against any mischance by mortality. Apprising the Duke beforehand of his suggestion, he wrote: "My whole heart is so fixed on the efforts of this summer not being frustrated that I am in danger of becoming troublesome and tiresome upon this interesting subject, but I trust your Grace will pardon me."²

Again and again we find him trying to infuse special energy and engineering strength into the contemplated expedition, praying the interposition of Devonshire's influence with the Commander-in-Chief and the King where he was conscious that his own was liable to fail.³ His administrative capacity was perhaps underrated by George II. and his brother up to this time.

On the 16th of January a Cabinet took place at Devonshire House, at which the Lord President, the First Lord of the Treasury, First Lord of the Admiralty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Secretary Holderness were unanimous that £100,000 a-year, for five years, should be offered to the Court of Denmark, ten thousand land troops, and twelve ships of the line of sixty guns and upwards to be kept in readiness whenever required for service on whatever duty might be thought fit, the troops and ships to be in his Majesty's pay when in actual service, the land forces to be paid according to the estimate settled by the last Treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse. The King was willing to make a reciprocity Treaty and to receive proposals as to the nature of it from the Court of Denmark.⁴

Owing partly to the absence of Pitt, whose physicians spoke as if he could not long hold office if he suffered incessantly from his bodily ailments, Parliament was unusually dull, and indisposed to question Ministers closely. Soame Jenyns said "it

¹ Newcastle Correspondence, 6th-11th Dec., 1756.—MS.

² 13th February.—MS.

³ 16th February, 1757.—MS.

⁴ Minute of Cabinet, 16th January, 1757. —MS.

Marine Mutiny Act, which prescribed the penalty of death in every case where the accused could not show that he had done his utmost against the enemy. Was this to be construed as meaning his utmost in the whole campaign, or in the conflict of a single day? Most of the opinions given are said to have been in favour of the latter; but after days spent in disputation on the point, the logic of reason and mercy was overborne and the thirteen naval jurors agreed to a verdict of guilty—qualified, as they imagined, by the supplementary declaration that the Admiral's breach of the law was in no way attributable to want of loyalty or courage, but simply to an error of judgment in the exercise of command. His friends were sanguine of a decision substantially in his favour, and he himself was so confident of an acquittal that his carriage was in readiness to take him home when his long imprisonment should be over. He bore the terrible announcement of his fate with more equanimity than several of his judges; and in a short time recovered his self-possession and was consoled by assurances of his family and counsel, that the danger was apparent, not real, and that an earnest appeal to the clemency of the Crown would be ratified by the Ministry. Infinite discussion in public and private arose regarding this extraordinary sentence. Horace Walpole from the first feared that "some of the late Cabinet who wished to make him the scape-goat of their own neglect would leave him to his fate, but he thought the new Administration would not be biased to blood by such interested attempts."¹

Despite their assiduous disclaimers, the adherents of the former Ministry persisted to the end in treating the fate of Byng as a party question. Before inquiry into his conduct was possible, he had been promised to the mob as a sacrifice. Brought home a prisoner, accused of flagrant crime; kept for three months in the Tower awaiting prosecution, he was at length arraigned before a tribunal in whose judgment the Ministers interested in his condemnation felt beforehand pitiless confidence. When the many testimonies to his unostentatious courage became known, the unfortunate Admiral's friends took heart and audibly expressed too sanguine hopes of his acquittal. In a numerous company, the Duchess of Manchester, with womanly but unwise earnestness, scoffed at the idea of his being found guilty, till Admiral Bos-

¹ To H. Mann, 30th January, 1757.

cawen, who had been one of the late, and was now one of the existing, Board of Admiralty, exclaimed, "Say what you will, we shall have a majority in the court-martial, and he will be condemned."¹

The senior officer who should in routine have been named to preside at the trial was passed over, and Admiral Smith, the illegitimate brother of Lyttelton, was appointed in his stead. Lest any compunctionous visitings should plead for mercy, he was reminded with fraternal frankness of his duty. "If you had any reasons to give in favour of Mr. Byng, not given in your sentence, you ought to transmit them forthwith to the Admiralty that their Lordships may lay them before the King. Upon those you have given, I will only observe that his not having shown any symptoms of fear when he was in scarce any danger will not be sufficient to acquit him of cowardice in the sense of the law. His not going into danger when he ought to have done so is that criminal negligence which the law has made capital. You seem to think that the law is too severe; but it was the intention of the Legislature to make it severe; and till they repeal it, the judges of a court-martial must act in a strict conformity to it: and you know the whole nation has called on the King to let the law take its course."² One forlorn hope still remained. The King, it was supposed, before finally deciding, would hear what the Commander-in-Chief had to say; and words that had fallen from Fox led to the belief that though sharing the blame for administrative neglect that might be cast upon the late Executive were Byng acquitted, he was in favour of acquittal. His intimacy at Windsor Lodge was well known; and if the Princess Amelia should entertain sentiments of generosity and justice, her brother might possibly be led to move their father to lenity.

The Admiral's sister wrote imploring merciful interposition from Woburn. Bedford would only promise that if the question were referred to the Cabinet nothing should prevent his attending, and that he should be very happy to find himself at liberty to adopt the view which the court had so strongly recommended.³

More than one member of the tribunal was perplexed and

¹ H. Walpole's "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," p. 287.

² From the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, now a Peer, 31st January, 1757.

³ To Mrs. Osborn, 6th February, 1757.

Treasury ; but Halifax declined the office, and in a few hours the project, which had never acquired solidity, was abandoned. The Court reverted to former expedients. The scheme submitted to the King included Egmont, G. Sackville and Strange, Charles Townshend and Bubb Dodington, all of whom were good speakers, with secure seats in the Commons.

For himself, Fox desired only the Pay Office, with a reversion on the Irish Establishment in favour of his son. But Egmont, whose object was a Peersage, and Sackville, who had recently attached himself to Pitt and Leicester House, declined, and Charles Townshend, though he hated Pitt, did not choose to be identified with his unpopular opponents. Dodington alone seemed ready to accept the Treasurership of the Navy.¹

The only remark the King made on reading the memorandum was that "Everybody thought of themselves, and did not enough consider what *He* was obliged to go through."²

It became generally understood that some important changes were impending. But, meeting Hardwicke at levée, Devonshire significantly said that for his own part he preferred his ease ; he would perform his engagement by staying to the end of the Session and no longer. When asked what necessity there was for precipitation, he said that "the King was so offended with Lord Temple that he could not bear the sight of him." In fact, his removal was resolved on, implying that of all the rest.³ At length Temple was formally dismissed, and Pitt was informed that his resignation was expected, the ground assigned being the language used by the former unavailingly on behalf of Byng, and which, though Pitt did not make his own, he did not repudiate.

Legge at once resigned. Waldegrave, again consulted, could only suggest that Devonshire might be constrained to continue First Lord some months longer, until Newcastle, seeing that the realm could get on very well without him, should agree to resume his old position. But his Majesty said that would not do. "The Duke has acted by me in the handsomest manner, and is in a very disagreeable situation entirely on my account. I have promised that he shall be at full liberty at the end of the

¹ Waldegrave, 105.

² A. Stone to Waldegrave, 26th March, 1757.—MS.

³ Hardwicke to Newcastle, 3rd April, 1757.—MS.

Session, and I must keep my word. If the Duke of Newcastle should disappoint me, I know but one person whom I would trust at the head of the Treasury; can you guess who I mean? Why, it is yourself." Conscious of his unfitness, Waldegrave, with due acknowledgments, tried to put aside all further mention of a thought which he imagined only to have been inspired by a passing impulse of kindness, and one of which he should hear no more.

The King allowed Lord Waldegrave to try once more if Fox, with Newcastle's assistance, could not form an Administration. "The drum was beat but nobody would enlist." Time pressed, and in a fit of vexation a new commission of Admiralty was announced with Winchilsea, an experienced seaman but little of a politician, at its head; Lord Carysfort, Sir W. Rowley, Savage Mostyn, and the Hon. E. Sandys, for Junior Lords; Boscowen and Gilbert Elliot being alone retained from the former Board. Lord Egremont was invited to succeed Pitt, but days passed without his appearing at Court.

* George II. found so little approval by his best friends of each attempt to form a Government that he was fain to let the wreck of Administration drift a little longer. Fox reverted to his former claim to the Pay Office; but, troubled by the fear that his self-denying waiver might not be appreciated at the market price he put upon it, he resolved to redeem the time by securing quietly the reversion for the lives of his two sons of the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland worth £1,600 a year. For a moment, fortune seemed to run too fast. In mistaken care for his interests he was actually sent for to kiss hands as Paymaster General, without any previous intimation to Lord Dupplin, who was still in possession. But Fox was not yet ready to be gratified, and wished matters to remain as they were till the end of the Session, or at least until all doubt or inquiry as to passing changes was at an end.¹

He wanted, in short, to have the new Ministry unequivocally committed to the permanency of the coveted appointment, in consideration for his withdrawal from the political game.

Meanwhile, to humour Windsor Lodge and Woburn, Fox and Waldegrave went on giving the King, day by day, fresh pictures in the kaleidoscope, each of which they recommended as prefer-

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 8th April, 1757.—MS.

intended, could not intend, to say what he had said on so trifling a question. But I abused those who applauded another secession tending to sedition and a dissolution of Government. Pitt answered calmly enough, distinguishing away, that is, mis-repeating, what he had said. An hour afterwards George Townshend attacked me, and said he never should secede from the House unless he saw a man a Minister who would not venture to appear such governing a complaisant House of Commons without declaring his power. I established what I had said before, to the great anger of the Tories, and answered him in a full, warm speech, with which I hope others were satisfied. I was. Adieu."¹

To bring an irregular discussion to a close, Fox succeeded in getting a majority of 267 over 141 who voted for an amendment by Lord Strange. His delight was almost boyish at the success of his first essay as self-appointed Leader of the Cabinet : all the more notable from the position having been openly denounced by the displaced Ministers as unconstitutional. To Devonshire he wrote exultantly : "I wish your Grace joy of yesterday. Would to God that it might tempt you to go on and govern us. You see we are willing to be governed by you, and by you only. Don't forget the Duke of Marlborough, who is beyond measure uneasy."² Still the difficulties remained of filling up the vacated offices, and of disposing peaceably of those who had been ousted ; difficulties which the cheers of a majority impelled by various motives, and the gratulations of a crowd of expectants, helped little to satisfy. Devonshire would not desert his post abruptly, or as though he were affronted at the Royal unconcern for his ease or credit as evidenced in the recent changes ; but nothing would induce him to continue permanently in so unthankful an office, or to trust his future peace and character in the keeping of persons he had found so selfishly unreliable.

Separate interests drifted daily more and more nearly to combination. Reciprocal distrust and dislike may not have grown less ; but the danger of prolonging the *inter ministerium* became more palpable, and the gloom without more depressing. There was as little sincerity as ever in Court and club ; but the force of gravity in external events and prospects compelled men to come

¹ From Burlington Street, 12 o'clock at night, 26th April, 1757.—MS.

² 28th April, 1757.—MS.

in. The singular condition of things, at first unbelieved, became generally recognised, that the head of the Administration, far from objecting to being replaced by another, was unaffectedly anxious to be relieved of his onerous charge ; and sought only to use the influence he possessed to promote the change. Devonshire told Stone that he would use his utmost endeavour to have Pitt and Temple restored, if they would be reasonable, and also to bring about a good understanding with Leicester House, which the King saw the necessity for. He advised Newcastle to gain Bute, and proposed that his Grace should see him, and he would tell the King it was by his advice. Newcastle desired Stone to name a meeting at Lord G. Sackville's at nine at night. The First Lord much insisted on Fox being Paymaster, or having some un-Ministerial office. "If the King, Leicester House, and Pitt were to come to reasonable terms, the old Ministers would be obliged to return to their old employments, having stipulated for such a number of their friends as might not make them absolutely dependent on any party ; for though it were not proposed that Fox should be Minister, a great number of his powerful friends would remain in the Cabinet, with one more powerful than any other near at hand, after his return to England, which consideration must be to have Leicester House on their side. In what capacity would Hardwicke agree to act? anything less than the Great or Privy Seal would be a jest."¹

His Grace seems to have been forgetful of the essential differences of the two offices, that the former was one of infinite labour, and that in the other there was nothing to do.

News of the assembly of 18,000 men at Dunkirk with a numerous fleet to transport them to Canada, if not to England,² cast for the moment into the shade the sputtering of Parliamentary fire : but like so many other menaces of invasion, it was speedily forgotten in the news of Frederick's astounding victory at Prague. There was no mistake, however, about the rapid occupation of Hanover by a French army of 100,000 men. Most of the families of property had fled to Schleswig or Hamburg. The Duke of Cumberland, having helped, as he boasted, to get rid of Pitt, took the command of 60,000 men, chiefly German

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 1st May, 1757.—MS.

² Under-Secretary Wilmot, 4th May, 1757.—MS.

coffers were empty. All this would afford opportunities for pacification if the British Government showed themselves inclined before the existing depression passed away.¹

Pitt was no longer in Council to object, and the majority would doubtless have been only too glad for their own sakes to be respite by negotiation from the odious and onerous responsibilities of another campaign. But a foundering ship will not steer ; and Devonshire's determination being fixed and known, that he w^ould hold office only till his successor was appointed, there was no one to take upon him the task of initiating terms of peace.

The hopeful gleam faded soon away, and the genial clouds of profitable war gathered again over the Pay Office. Meanwhile, owing to some unrecorded insolence of Pitt or forgotten *gaucherie* of Newcastle, the consummate Cabinet-maker of Holland House became uneasy, suspicious, and at length alarmed at the progress to completion of his own designs. In his over-reaching desire to fabricate an Administration so strong as to defy any attempt at opposition, he forgot that the coign of vantage he had stipulated for himself (and which all the rest were ready to concede for the sake of securing his complaisance in their respective demands) would be wholly defenceless, if he could rally no contingent of mutineers. At the very thought, his recent magnanimity, that was ready to embrace all sections and pretensions, gave way. If a settlement were made without him as a constituent party, he feared that he might be treated as mere tenant-at-will of the gold mine for sake of which he had renounced the Secretaryship of State and the Leadership of the Commons, and this overwhelming fear prompted him to adjure Devonshire once more to defer retiring until Prince William was again at home to insist upon conditions that were still wanting.² Meanwhile, Hardwicke's invitation³ to Pitt to meet him and Newcastle at Lord Royston's house, in St. James's Square, the family being out of town, though accepted, had been void of result.

On the 26th of May there was a further conference at Newcastle House, in which Hardwicke took part. He wanted nothing for himself, but pressed that Anson should be restored

¹ M. Cressener, received 27th May, 1757.—MS.

² Devonshire Papers, May, 1757.—MS.

³ From Powis House, 25th May, 1757.

to the Admiralty, or made Treasurer of the Navy ; and if the Privy Seal or Presidency of the Council should hereafter become, vacant, he himself was ready to come in. But he sustained Newcastle's objection to Pitt's demand of the Exchequer for George Grenville, with a Cabinet office for Temple. The Exchequer was the rock on which they split. In a long audience at Kensington, Newcastle consented to form a Ministry with the help of his own friends alone, and took some days to complete his arrangements.¹ These were beset with difficulties. Lord Dupplin refused the Second Seat at the Treasury, which was then offered to Sir George Lee ; and the nomination of Anson would, it was feared, evoke a renewal of imputations and reproaches in the City. The weakness and vacillation betrayed all through these negotiations can only be appreciated fully by a perusal of the vapid and verbose correspondence of the day.

The subtleties of *Nolo Episcoparism* have always been regarded as beyond lay understandings ; and the hesitation of ambition that has long been fed on official fare, and then, after a brief fast, craves again for its familiar food, is equally beyond the imagining of the outer world. Newcastle, after various parleyings and palterings, began once more to feel himself at home on the threshold of the Cockpit, and yet he would not come in, or at least he was not sure whether he would or no. He wrote to Devonshire begging him to come to Claremont, for he had many things to submit to his consideration. He had met with many discouragements. Bedford's answer² was not a clever or cordial one, and Dupplin would not undertake the Exchequer, for which there was nobody willing to be responsible but Sir George Lee, who could bring no support. Halifax was as destitute of adherents, but he was able and willing to serve. Something might still be done with Hume Campbell and Sir T. Robinson ; and Granby hinted that they need not be troubled, at the Duke of Rutland's ill-humour. But after several days Hardwicke refused to guarantee or recommend as capable the Cabinet patched with third-rate materials which Newcastle would have offered for Royal acceptance, and in a paroxysm of executive despair, Fox was desired once more to try if he could not wind up

¹ Devonshire to the Duke of Cumberland, 27th May, 1757.—MS.

² To the offer of Ireland which Devonshire had stipulated.

that Temple should have no office that would require his Majesty frequently to receive him. Waldegrave advised concession to necessity, and deferentially hinted that if, forgetting past causes of offence, his Majesty would gratify Pitt's vanity with a moderate share of affability, he would not find him intractable. He might, indeed, be capable of evil deeds when his ambition, pride, or resentment was to be gratified ; but he was also susceptible of generous treatment ; "was bold and resolute, above doing things by halves ; and, if once engaged, would go further than any man in this country. Nor would his former violence against Hanover be any obstacle, as he had given frequent proofs that he could change sides whenever he found it necessary, and could deny his own words with an unembarrassed countenance. And as for Newcastle, when several of the great offices were filled by friends of his rival he would more than ever rely on Royal favour, and his fear and jealousy of Pitt would be better security for his good behaviour than a thousand promises." George II. listened with great patience, disclaimed undue leaning to Hanover, and said he had never strained the law to gratify a favourite ; but while the Constitution seemed to give him a choice of Ministers, "so far from having an option, he was not even allowed a negative." We were a strange people. Parliament passed a hundred laws every Session, apparently for no other purpose than to have the pleasure of breaking them or altering them ; and it was a strange way of showing zeal for liberty when the great nobles chose rather to be followers and dependents of a Duke of Newcastle than to be the friends and councillors of their Sovereign.¹

Many beside Bute were glad to learn that Mansfield had had weight enough to procure suspension of the impracticable scheme into which men of experience and independence had reluctantly been led. Devonshire, out of patience, had written to the Duke of Cumberland : "I am heartily tired and vexed at the length of time that this business has been drawn into, and upon my word I feel ashamed at the figure that both the King and the country make on this occasion."²

Mansfield confirmed the fact that he had been directed to take back the Seal of the Exchequer, and to desire that a further con-

¹ "Memoirs of Waldegrave," 129-132.

² 4th June, 1757.—MS.

ference should take place between Newcastle and Hardwicke with Pitt and Bute.¹

Thus, step by step, Bute was consulted and relied on by all the ambitious politicians of his time, as if he had been their equal in experience, sagacity, and fitness to advise. What wonder that at last he came to believe in his own importance and to try the magic of his own imposture.

The Chief Justice lost no time in fulfilling his delicate commission. Failing to see the Lord Chamberlain at Piccadilly, he wrote : "I have just been at your Grace's gate, for at present I think the utmost expedition in every step is important. By great luck I met the D. of N. in his post-chaise at Hyde Park Corner. I sent to Lord Hardwicke to have seen him last night, but was kept at Guildhall till midnight, so I could not see him till this morning. If you intend to be at Court, I wish, for the sake of despatch, I could see your Grace before, and yet I don't well know how to contrive it. I shall be sitting in Westminster Hall. If you do go to Kensington I could come out of Court and speak to you in my room at Westminster, to which there is a back way, where the new repository for the Records is building between the Palace Yard over against St. Margaret's Church."²

After a meeting of the moribund Cabinet, Fox hastened to disclose to his brother his fears that after all his enemies would prove too many for him, and that notwithstanding the friendship of H.R.H., and the repeated word of the King, he should be foiled in the aim on which his hopes were fixed. Lord Ilchester was not a politician, and could not easily be brought to believe in so sudden a reverse of fortune. But in the course of the evening he consented to write to Devonshire in the following humble tone: "I suppose my brother has told your Grace that yesterday, among many kind expressions, his Majesty said to him: *You may depend upon being Paymaster if I can give it you. I will do what I can for you, but I am not sure they will let me make a page of the back stairs.* Now, my Lord, if the King could be brought to say with some spirit that if he was hindered giving him the Paymaster's place he was resolved to give him a better thing, and that declaration conveyed to the ears of those who are the present possessors of power, I should think it would contribute more to their per-

¹ Newcastle to Bute, 1st June, 1757.—MS.

² Chief Justice Mansfield MS.

sagaciously said that he whom the King was not delighted to honour would presently kiss hands for the Seals once more. Majesty and Minister were alike dispensed, however, from that unwelcome ceremony. The ex-Chancellor acquainted Lyttelton with what occurred. A favourite object of Pitt, the representation of Bath, was thus opened. "In order to it, he had taken a little Stewardship, to vacate his seat, for no new Secretary of State having been appointed in his room, nor his commission revoked, he found himself in the case of Mr. Pelham, upon the resignation of 1745, and could not have a new Patent."¹ Potter devised a plan whereby Wilkes was to take his place at Aylesbury, and he was to succeed Pitt at Oakhampton; while their friend and patron was to be gratified by being spontaneously, as it were, returned for the free and independent city of Bath, Sir Robert Henley, no longer as Lord Keeper, claiming its suffrages. Temple's approval and aid were readily given; Potter preferred a close to a corrupt borough; and the new Secretary of State was kept duly uninformed of the underground means whereby the electors of the fashionable watering-place were brought to sue for the honour of being represented by him. All this took time and trouble; and if Almon is to be believed, the triple manœuvre cost Wilkes seven thousand pounds. But if his family deprecated his buying a seat so dear he doubtless averred that he would ere long make the investment answer. The day after his return he paid his respects at St. James's Square, and Pitt acknowledged his pledge of fealty in a letter full of personal flattery and political confidence. Pitt thus emerged from a condition of Parliamentary nomineeship into that of representing a free constituency; and Wilkes became the legislative henchman of the master of Stowe. He had made himself useful in the county by organising the Militia; was the idol of the rank and file; the maker and mender of every quarrel at mess; punctual at drill, and latest to bed, and so indispensable to Temple that he was at length made Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment.

Henry Fox was in harbour at last, and thought he might drop anchor. He was not politically dead, for he enjoyed still the confidence of princes, nobles, and knowing financiers. He was the husband of a loving and gentle woman, and the father of children who promised well. Access to his table and his gardens

¹ Hardwicke to Lyttelton, 4th July, 1757.

was coveted by all, or nearly all, who were worth having as guests. He had made his brother an Earl, and was proud of his niece being the first Peeress but one in Ireland ; he had led the House of Commons for a year without defeat ; and had given up the envied pre-eminence to make sure of something more to his luxurious taste and love of ease. Calcraft and Rigby, when the doors were shut, assured him that to-morrow at the Pay Office would be even as yesterday or yet more abundant. He was surprised and irritated by finding himself opposed at Windsor, but resolved to persevere, and was returned by a large majority. The Cabinet had scarcely been transformed when news arrived so tragic, and of consequences so far-reaching, that Ministers might well be dismayed at the prospect before them.

On the very day that they received their appointments the triumphal progress of Frederick was reversed at Köln by Marshal D'Uin, who had routed the Prussian army with the loss of 45 guns, 22 standards, and 13,000 men, the victors losing but half that number. Frederick owned to the English envoy that another blow like this would be his ruin. He vowed that he would stand on the defensive, but could England do nothing to aid him in his hour of need ? A small squadron in the Baltic would help him greatly, if we would but hold decisive language to Russia. From the fearful loss of officers he would be unable to afford the aid he had promised to the Duke of Cumberland and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel on the Weser. "He wished they could make peace, and if the King of England did so, he hoped he would not be sacrificed." Mitchell said what he could to reassure him, but, till there was time to hear with certainty from London what effect the news of Köln had wrought there, he could not make any definite reply. In a paroxysm of anxiety, Frederick said, "I will speak to you as a private man. You know my aversion to all subsidies—that I have ever refused them. I thought, and I think still, it is too mean a footing for me to put myself upon ; but, since the late misfortunes, and attacked as I am on all sides, if Prussia should be occupied by the Russians, and the French and Austrians be able to make further progress into my dominions, my revenues will fail. I should be glad to know what succours I might expect from your nation." Mitchell reminded him that by the English Constitution no money could be given but by vote of Parliament.

much concern, which was that nothing had been seen of Lord Bute since he had returned to office. He was, indeed, chiefly at Kew, but sometimes in town. Newcastle had employed a private friend to talk to him. He suspected their alienation arose from a cause which it was not at present in his power to remove. The Earl wanted two of the Board of Green Cloth turned out to make way for Mr. Briton and Mr. Legrand ; but it was impossible to propose to the King to turn them out, and not easy to find equivalents for them ; and in the present conjuncture troubling the King on such a subject would have the worst effect. Everyone who knew the Court must think so, and he was amazed that Bute should be of another opinion. Pitt seemed to show much regard to the Lord President, and in points of the greatest confidence had desired that he and the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford might be summoned, which they had been, and everything had passed very well. At the meetings of the Cabinet the Lord-Lieutenant was as well pleased with his colleagues as he might be with any ; but Newcastle could not brag of any great personal confidence or regard. On the contrary, there was not that attention shown in Irish Revenue matters that was usual by the First Lord of the Treasury. But in times like those he passed it over. Lord Mansfield did his part with equal ability and friendship, and Hardwicke was acting a great and noble part.¹

Pitt was already beginning to be felt to be *the* Minister. By-and-bye his ascendancy would be visible to the naked eye of the world without ; and then the illusion of power being centred in a few great nobles to be gambled for would be in danger of dissipation. The chief partner in the firm saw it not afar off and was sad. In a plaintive whisper, he owned that, constituted as the Cabinet was, "when he differed from Pitt, which he hoped would seldom happen, he must stand alone." For this reason, and to save the trouble of frequent calls from Wimpole of his learned friend, he should be heartily glad if he would fling out to the Secretary, as from himself, that Mansfield being called to the Cabinet might be of use, both from his profession and his position in the House of Commons. Could he be always sure of Hardwicke's presence he would desire no more ; but alone in Council, unassisted by anyone whose name he could use,

¹ To Primate Stone, 20th August, 1757.—MS.

or who could be otherwise informed than by himself, "he was not ashamed to say he wanted help." He saw no prospect of things being better regarding Halifax, unless Hardwicke could persuade Pitt to agree to that trifling change in the Cabinet. As to Pitt's future conduct in Administration, he "knew the little vivacities that had passed, and the *no* foundation there was for them. He hoped there would be no more of them; he was sure he should give no occasion for them; and if they did happen and did not go further than they had done, he would endeavour to forget them, as he had those that had passed; but he must say that if it was expected that he should never talk to anybody upon an employment, or even mention a measure to the King, without having previously concerted it with Pitt, it was such a situation and such a dependency as he could by no means submit to. Pitt should have his full share of credit and power, but he should not be his superior. To Newcastle he owed in great measure his better reception at Court. As the *Speech* was, and was so called by Pitt, the Plan of Government and of the Session, the substance of it must come from *their shop*."¹

The Secretary at last agreed that Halifax should be called to the Cabinet, stipulating that the Board of Trade should still remain as it was, officially represented by the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and that its President should not in future be entitled as of course to Cabinet rank,² as likewise was the case with the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Robinson, and Mr. Fox. But every day the intending, though as yet unavowed, Lord Protector felt the ground growing firmer under him; and if he became more imperative in tone, he thought he could afford to be less exacting in the choice of colleagues. He had really no objection to the presence of an able man like Halifax at the Cockpit, provided he was made to feel that it was *his* latch-key opened the door.

Lord Dupplin, who had fagged year after year for the First Lord, and was used by him as a safe confessor to whom all private griefs and grudges might be imparted, and as a presentable alternative for all sorts of offices, none of which he ever got, showed signs of being sulky; it was expedient, therefore, to smooth him over by fresh effusions of affection. The Duke was quite ashamed, he

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23rd August, 1757.—MS.

² Newcastle to Legge, 27th September, 1757.—MS.

Like the rest of his colleagues, the ex-Chancellor was wisdom itself when it was too late. He was most circumstantial in his recollection of having disapproved of steps in diplomacy which he foresaw might end in failure, but certainly would "tarnish the King's honour at the close of a reign not yet sullied." He could not, indeed, even to himself deny that he had silently acquiesced in the Elector doing what he would not have advised the King to do; but that was because he saw at the moment no alternative to save Hanover from a French occupation, and because he foresaw that if the offer were accepted the Court of Vienna would at once require that England should forbear from furnishing any other aid to Prussia: and this he knew would cause the breaking off the engagement. It is fortunate for the fame of Hardwicke that he was never driven to make this defence for himself in Parliament. On one point he was very decided, namely: "that if ten thousand men had been sent to reinforce the Duke's army, instead of being employed in the Secret Expedition to the French coast, then late and out of time, some part of this dilemma might have been prevented. But that was over long ago. He differed from his Majesty as to the effect his offer of a separate peace would have in the Empire, although it should be refused. Instead of doing him service there, it would hurt him, for it would produce contempt, and that hurt Princes more than private men. It would render it more difficult to support in Parliament the advancement of the £100,000 lately given out of the vote of credit, and the expense of the provisions and stores now being sent to the Duke's army, for it would be asked,—To what end, if Hanover is to separate herself from England and no use to be made of that army? It would render any *dedommagement* for the Elector from Parliament impossible. It might have a still worse effect in encouraging the ill-affected in the distrust they always felt in the Union of the Realm with the Electorate, their institutions being different if not incompatible."¹

It is a curious commentary on the professions of anxiety lest the Government should fall to pieces in consequence of their being obliged to disavow the acts of the King that the Duke of Bedford no longer thought it necessary to remain at Woburn, but set out for Ireland on the 12th September, before any decision in Cabinet could be formed.

¹ Hardwicke to First Lord, 11th September, 1757.—A.S.

Mansfield concurred in Cabinet with Hardwicke and Pitt in deprecating the folly of the recent negotiation, and thought the English Ministry could only purge their faults in having acquiesced tacitly by more vigorous measures of war. Few men ever showed more true courage without the hope of applause or even appreciation. In possession of the highest object of his professional ambition, full of riches and honour, and wholly disengaged from the obligations of party, the Chief Justice might well have hesitated to embark in an Administration whose measures had betrayed them into a perilous and unpopular course. He did not attempt to disguise his disapproval; if he joined the Government, he must prepare to extenuate, if not to defend.

Instead of fighting a desperate battle, or making a prudent march to join their forces with those of the allies, Prince William laid down his arms at Klosterseven to save the Electorate from being occupied by a hostile army.

Early on the 17th Holderness had what he called in his vapid way "the disagreeable duty of acquainting the King and his colleagues with the distressful news." He was too much upset to hazard any observation on the subject,¹ and he waited for orders from his humiliated Sovereign, his helpless Chief at Claremont, or his colleague Pitt. What a Secretary of State in critical times!

After a night's reflection, the First Lord unfolded his thoughts to his administrative confessor. They ran chiefly on what would be said of Ministers regarding the transaction, and how they could best show that *they* had given no authority to enter into such a Convention, for it took them wholly by surprise. The King had acted as Elector without consulting them. It was but a week before that they had all agreed to forward supplies of provisions. The Prince, however, had not yet given any reasons for the terms he had made with Marshal Richelieu.² Adverting to Newcastle's characteristic suggestion of throwing the blame on his Majesty in order to save themselves, Hardwicke said: "All reasonable caution must be used, as far as is possible, not to blacken or load the King."³

There was still a sense of loyalty left, though in one whom the

¹ 17th September, 1757.—MS.

² To Hardwicke, 18th September, 1757.—MS.

³ From Wimpole, 19th September, 1757.—MS.

to fear that he had slipped his foot in the blood of Byng. Pitt meantime was apprehensive that these disappointments in a naval American war would make all other operations go heavier or not at all. George II., on the other hand, half believed in letters from the French Court, which, in the excess of disappointment and vexation, talked of a resolution to destroy both himself and the King of Prussia; and he supposed that they must fight it out or fall together.¹

The ex-Chancellor did not like to hear of his Majesty "coaxing and inviting to cards" his contumacious son. From whom ought inducements to reconciliation come? Was the King bullied by some about him, to rescind practically the judgment he had announced? If his Highness had thought fit to retain his employments the Cabinet would not have disturbed him; but if he had done wrong, intrigue at Kensington ought not to cover his fault at the King's expense. "Nobody could wish the King to be implacable, either as King or father, but he should support his own dignity and authority as both." Both employments ought to be at once filled up. Leaving the regiment open for two years would only be to defer resumption for an indefinite time; and leaving the command of the army vacant would practically be to leave the Generalship-in-Chief to the King, whereby it would soon centre behind the curtain; and that would be the worst of all, for the Duke would have the whole army in his power without being responsible." Here, then, was Government by prerogative on tenter-hooks once more. Its military patronage, for which Marlborough, at the zenith of his greatness, had risked all—and won, eventually losing it only when he lost for a season everything else—was again at stake, and Hardwicke urged vehemently that even Ligonier, old and feeble though he was, had better be made Commander-in-Chief than that the other alternative should be tolerated. His shortsighted friend at the head of the Treasury had not had the sense to comprehend the situation or discern the danger to Ministerial supremacy. Once pointed out, he readily acceded to the clearer and more thoughtful view. As to the two Royalties being doomed to perish together, the ex-Chancellor, sitting quietly at Wimpole, was not easily moved: "He hoped neither King would perish; but did not believe that either King had resolved to perish with the

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 15th October, 1757.—MS.

other. How often it had been declared that the King of Prussia was a lost man. Did we then intend to be so too? He wished they could see the original instructions. These were very delicate subjects to put opinions upon into writing, and he gave them with a freedom he would not use to any other person in the world.”¹

His Grace forthwith proceeded to recommend the appointment of Ligonier, by arguments noted beforehand, carefully using, verbatim, the shrewd suggestions of his confessor-colleague. He added to other considerations that it was essential to have a man of practical experience for Ministers to consult, and to assist at Councils for the disposition of the troops.² George II. told him that the Duke of Marlborough had advised him not to have a Captain-General, but to keep the command himself. Newcastle said little, but thought it would be better to “prepare him through Lady Yarmouth for the representations that would be made to him.” When Pitt learned what had passed he was very strong for the necessity of Ministers uniting, *even in representations in writing*, upon the subject. Meantime, the Duke stated fully their objections and arguments to Lady Yarmouth; and though he did not much like her manner, thought she would not fail to repeat them unreservedly. Next day he came again to the charge, laying stress upon the fact that “nobody was less to be feared than Ligonier, who would always do what his Majesty wished: but he said he would have no Field Marshal, and would keep the command himself.” As for the regiment, he would not fill it up at present. Newcastle said M. D’Abreu had told him that the Prince had made up his mind not to resume. “That is not true,” exclaimed the King, “he has sent me word otherwise by Devonshire. I can’t trust him abroad; but at home he will be under my eye. Besides, if I have a mind to be reconciled to my son, who has anything to do with it, or to say against it?” Newcastle piously rejoined, “God forbid, everybody must, or should, wish it, and I have never said a word to blow up differences.”

The two Secretaries then had audience. Portsmouth or Plymouth, the King said, would probably be attacked; and his Ministers had better take counsel for their defence. • Holder-

¹ Hardwicke to Newcastle, 16th October, 1757.

² Memorandum for the King, 19th October, 1757. —MS.

therefore was once more confirmed in its resolve to render their ally the pecuniary help he sought ; and a draft of the Convention was transmitted accordingly.¹ By the victory of Lissa, Frederick retrieved all his recent losses ; and counted among his trophies 20,000 prisoners, including two generals, one hundred and eighty officers, three thousand baggage and ammunition waggons, and one hundred and sixty-eight pieces of cannon.

A pension of £800 a-year having lapsed on the death of the King's sister, the Queen Dowager of Prussia, the same amount was charged at the instance of the Lord-Lieutenant on the Irish establishment in favour of his sister-in-law, Lady Betty Waldegrave. The Primate, mortified at the coldness with which he had been treated by the new Viceroy, and the preference given to Lord Kildare, allowed if he did not invite his friends in Parliament to carry a series of resolutions condemning the extravagance of the pension list ; and the Dublin Press vehemently supported agitation for retrenchment.

The Lord-Lieutenant, finding himself unable to induce Opposition in the Irish House of Commons to pass the Money Bill for the year without the Tack of their resolutions against English pensions on the Irish establishment, wrote for instructions as to what was to be done, and, in default of plenary powers for reducing the obstructionists to submission, asked leave to resign. Pitt, who never showed much concern about either the causes or the possible consequences of provincial troubles, indited a soothing answer in his stately manner, admonishing Bedford that his vexations, whatever they might be, must not be suffered to weigh in the balance against the importance of maintaining the Administration as a whole, and hinting that its desertion by his Grace, owing to personal disappointment, was a matter of too much moment to be contemplated by his friends in the Cabinet.

Granville, whose sagacity and devotion the King confided in more than that of any other Minister, strove likewise to soothe the irritable Viceroy ; and, lest he should resign, compounded for him a potion in which sedatives and stimulants were admirably mingled. The Cabinet were agreed that much less ability than his Grace possessed would be found equal to get the better of the parties and connections that "frequently gave so much disquiet to their Lord-Lieutenant. When I went there first there never

¹ Holderness to Mitchell, 23rd December, 1757.—MS.

was worse humours stirring, nor more unnatural conjunctions of persons, hating one another, and yet agreeing in insulting the Government ; nor more specious pretensions of grievances : and yet, as I would not be put in a passion, nor give them handles, they grew ashamed of themselves and content, so we forgot everything of both sides ; and I held two sessions afterwards with ease, which I make no doubt will happen to your Grace with more honour to yourself, and utility to his Majesty's affairs, than withdrawing yourself in disgust at the perverseness of such persons. As to your calling for support to *punish* now the undutiful and impertinent, give me leave to say that his Majesty has all the inclination and resolution to support you ; but that it is his opinion, at present, that you should try all conciliatory ways, which from my own experience. I think will succeed, especially now the money is transmitted. I should not have troubled your Grace with this confidential letter, had not the King himself told me to-day that he wished I would write on this service to you, which I do, not as a Minister, but as a real friend who has rowed in the same galley which you are now in, and by patience brought it safe into port, notwithstanding the mutiny in the crew for a while, who at last owned that I had served them usefully."¹

Parliament was in a passive mood, suffering measures of increased expenditure and taxation to pass without comment or division. In Committee of Ways and Means more than one important tax was passed in a very cold House, only ten members being sometimes present,² and in Supply votes were silently passed for the pay, clothing, and subsistence of 45,000 men in the Electorate ; 24,000 in America, and 60,000 seamen. For the Hessians £300,000 was required ; for the contingent from Wolfenbuttel, Gotha, and Lippe £900,000 ; forage, &c., £400,000 ; subsidies to Prussia £670,000 ; in all upwards of two millions on German account in place of the £200,000 a-year about which there used to be so much grumbling.³

In the nine years that had elapsed from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the national expenditure had more than kept pace with the increase of the

¹ Arlington Street, 27th November, 1757.

² Secretary West to the First Lord.—MS.

³ Memorandum for the King, MS., 22nd Dec., 1757.

her;" and paid little regard to the allegations of Holderness that the demands on our naval strength in other parts of the world rendered it impossible. Equally vain were the pleas which the Envoy was prompted to offer, of our inability to send national troops to aid in Germany, on the ground that more regiments could not be raised without ruining the manufacturers in England. Frederick laughed, and said it was a strange way of reasoning to prefer considerations of trade and manufactures to our security and independency : for we did not seem sensible of the danger to which England was exposed. If things went wrong upon the Continent, it was impossible for Prussia to resist the united forces of all Europe. When the population was less, English Ministers had sent large bodies of troops to contend with France in Flanders and in Spain ; and were the case fairly stated to Parliament he did not believe that it would lead to the consequences feared.

The occasion was stronger than it had ever been before, and he did not think it practicable to do without them ; even a body of 8,000 men would make a great impression on the French, and convince all Europe that England was hearty and resolved to risk everything rather than submit. Surely, the way to save America was not to suffer the French to become masters of Europe, which they would be if the English did not exert themselves with the utmost vigour by land as well as by sea.¹

Frederick was, in fact, so nettled by the refusal his Minister in London met with of his demand for naval and military help, that he refused to sign the Convention for the large subsidy which the Government had consented to furnish ; and Mitchell recommended, in cypher, that to win him back to good temper and reason a vote should be proposed in Parliament of a round million, as the subsidy for the next campaign, which he said would touch his vanity and astonish Europe.² But the Envoy had, in truth, become so identified with his views and aims, and so much in sympathy with his peril and renown, that he sometimes appeared to forget difficulties at home, and the precarious tenure of the Administration which Frederick impatiently reproached with want of resolution and resource. Pitt, always

¹ Mitchell to Holderness, recapitulating what had passed with the King of Prussia in various interviews. 9th February, 1758.

² *Ibid.*

jealous of unauthorised suggestions from subordinates, even when they seemed to anticipate his own designs, resolved to put an end to any unwarrantable expectations Frederick might have been led to form, and to get rid of a Plenipotentiary whose errors Holderness forgave through private friendship, but which his despotic colleague would not endure. "Andrew Mitchell was not a fool, and, though he must be something, was not fit to be their instrument in the vital and essential points of the plan of Europe in the transactions with Prussia. He had long entertained a very indifferent opinion of his correspondence, and he was now entirely convinced that he was mischievous to a degree, and perhaps might have already rooted ideas in the King of Prussia's mind which would inevitably overturn the system. His aim evidently was to get Frederick to propose British troops as part of the plan for the next campaign in Germany. As he could not be ignorant of all that had passed last year and was still passing, it was evident to whom he belonged, and whose work he was doing. Thus it was in every part of Government : the tools of another system were perpetually marring every hopeful measure of the present Administration. In a word, if Newcastle could not eradicate this lurking diffusive poison a little more out of the mass of Government, especially from the vitals, it would be better for them to have done. For himself, he did not intend that Andrew Mitchell should carry him where he did not intend to go."¹ Bremen was occupied by a French corps of 4,000 men, which gave them the command of the Weser and the sea, and Prince Ferdinand's army, failing to receive reinforcements, had fallen back beyond the river. Frederick once more insisted on British troops being furnished him. Newcastle believed that after all ten or twelve thousand men had better be despatched to his aid for the sake of Hanover. Sure the inconvenience or absurdity arising from a principle adopted of supporting the Continent with two millions of money, but with no national troops, should prevent it.²

This, if stated in Cabinet, must bring the conflicting views of policy to direct issue.

"Although, when writing the above, he imagined Pitt would be negative upon the point of sending troops, he did not then

¹ Pitt to Newcastle, 28th January, 1758.—MS.

² To Hardwicke, 29th January, 1758.—MS.

powers, I would fain hope that I might be indulged an humble prebend in the name of the Commons of England." ¹ The tone of this request forbade all thought of its refusal.

There was very little doing in the Session. Pitt appeared in his place only twice during the winter, and Fox was content to work by personal influence in the Upper House against a Navy Bill brought in by Grenville, and an extension of the Habeas Corpus Act carried easily by Pratt in the Commons. The Paymaster was supposed to busy himself chiefly in remodelling the gardens and completing the embellishments of Holland House. Pitt passed most of his time alone, circumscribed in movement by his old enemy, the gout; but enjoying greater freedom of military projects and prospects of territorial acquisition than he had ever known in his ~~unofficial~~ dreams. For society, so-called, he had never cared. He had not the gaiety or good humour that made Granville, Fox, Mansfield, and Charles Townshend, the delight of every company wherever they appeared; and his ineffable pride sniffed as incense the daily multiplying visits and messages from the inferior order of beings whom he graciously called his colleagues. By the end of the Session he had brought them to agree to a new Convention with Frederick, whereby he bound himself not to treat separately for peace during the next three years in consideration of a subsidy of £640,000 a-year. This may be called establishing a precedent in form for binding the country over in substantial securities *not* to keep the peace for at least three years.

It soon appeared why Legge had been left out of the conclave at St. James's Square. When it came to framing the estimate for the augmented Army of Observation the allowances were swollen at the instance of Munchausen in an unusual degree, and Pitt, who had the responsibility of obtaining the money from Parliament, became afflicted with a twinge of parsimony. "I confess I am astonished and overwhelmed at the exorbitance of Mr. Nicols's estimate—above one million five hundred thousand pounds. I must leave it for your Grace to judge if this be a just return for the generosity of the public disposition, or the way to preserve the continuance of it and carry us through the war. Permit me to observe that every discussion this insatiable service has undergone, your Grace has suffered the demand to

¹ Pitt to Newcastle, 29th March, 1758.—MS.

swell in a manner beyond all decency. I must beg to disclaim any part in the controlling and reducing this expense; and the work, such as it is, must stand upon the authority of the Treasury, and I fear that the public will think that the necessary monosyllable 'No' has been forgot between your Grace and M. Munchausen. Pardon this freedom, but I owe it to your Grace, to myself, and to an ill-requited country. Your Grace's very unhappy and most humble servant, W. Pitt."¹

The head of the Treasury sought counsel and confirmation of the questioned outlay from Legge, Nicols, and Munchausen, who all agreed that the money was required, and that the entire business must come to a stand if the estimate were not sanctioned. For himself the Duke protested that he had always been governed by the most exemplary solicitude for economy, and that he was deeply concerned at the language employed by the Secretary of State. He thought, indeed, he had settled the amount with Lady Yarmouth and Mr. Nicols at between £1,300,000 and £1,400,000, and he was surprised at perceiving that items forgotten for straw and other requisites had swelled the amount to £1,500,000.²

Reasonable complaints on the part of his ducal friend gave Hardwicke much concern. The behaviour (of Pitt) was certainly intolerable; but what could be done? He always feared it would be bad. He did not, however, pretend to have foreseen the manner and extent of the disagreeableness; but advantage had been taken of the low and desperate state to which other persons had reduced themselves since the coalition was made; and some pride was taken for the measure of breaking the Convention which Pitt so much pressed. He knew no other connection to which resort might be had. The money must be got in Parliament or the nation was undone. He could not blame his Grace for thinking of retiring after the Session was over. It would be unfortunate for the public, but the happiest thing in the world for Newcastle himself; for there could be no comfort in going on thus.

There was a question of who should move the Address from the Lords thanking the Crown for the Convention, pledging the life and fortune of the nation to our ally to the end of the war.

¹ April 4th, 1758.—MS.

² To Pitt, 5th April, 1758.—MS.

Having cast their lot together, each unconfessedly felt that there was nothing for it, if offences must come, but to make the best of it. Chesterfield's keen wit etched exactly the condition : "They jog on like man and wife, that is, seldom agreeing, often quarrelling, but by mutual interest, upon the whole, not parting."¹ Writing to the First Lord himself, with reference to Cabinet wedlock, he said : "Your wife is a termagant, as I told you she would be : but, termagant as she is, you could not, at that time, have married better, and you must not be separated at present. While you have war abroad you must not have war, at least open war, at home : but when you have peace abroad you may talk in another style at home. Till then, patience."²

At that very moment, oddly enough, fresh differences had arisen, which looked so serious that Lady Yarmouth, who was always consulted in such exigencies, thought it necessary to give the same admonition almost in the same words : "Keep Mr. Pitt until we have peace, and then do what you will with him. Peace is her only song, and I hope it will be our measure."³

The imperative Minister, as a last resource, sought an audience of the Lady. "Making use of all arts of threat and cajolery to show the necessity of passing the Bill, he told her that the nation would be in a flame—petitions and addresses from all quarters; nothing could go on if the Bill was rejected ; that Granville had eternised his name with the nation, the city, and the constitution by the part he had taken in it. He pitied the Duke of Newcastle ; it was Lord Hardwicke's vanity ; and as to Lord Mansfield, he would be attacked. Lady Yarmouth reasoned as well as she could, and insisted on the opinion of the judges. He said : 'Madam, if all the Bishops on the Bench were to say that the people should not have the use of the Bible, would the people part with their Bible ?' Lady Yarmouth thought the conversation most extravagant, and by way of threat there was nothing omitted that could carry terror with it." He was extremely angry at some supposed instructions to Major-General Yorke to give the Landgrave of Hesse hopes that he might withdraw his troops, which Holderness represented to be only matters of compliment. Pitt complained that "he knew nothing

¹ To his son, 18th May, 1758.

² Chesterfield to Newcastle, May, 1758.—MS.

³ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 16th May, 1758.—MS.

but by bits that Newcastle flung out to him, and that afterwards came upon him by way of assault. But if the Bill could only be suffered to pass he would not only give the Landgrave £20,000—but even £30,000. But this made so great an impression on the person to whom it was said to the disadvantage of the author, that she determined not to tell it to the King, and it must be an absolute secret, though both Knyphausen and Holderness understood that to be his way of thinking and acting.” Holderness found Bute very cool and reasonable. “He blamed the ‘flights’ of Mr. Pitt, which he said would blow over, and Holderness believed that Leicester House had taken no part in this affair. Pitt was playing his part everywhere. Newcastle did not in the least fear the steadiness either above or below stairs at Kensington.”¹

Pitt evidently felt the same, and on returning to Hayes made a last appeal by letter to the First Lord: “I beg leave to trouble you on a subject that interests my whole mind so deeply, and in favour of which I should esteem it the happiest and best work of my public life if I could engage your timely and preventive attention—I mean the Bill now depending before your Lordships’ House. Let me, in a word, deprecate and conjure your Grace to interpose your weight and authority between an endless train of public mischiefs which will attend its rejection. It would be unreasonable here to enter into the merits of this most interesting matter. It is enough, my Lord, to decide on which side the public good lies, if it be certain, first, that the Royal prerogative and authority are entirely out of the question; next, that unless the Bill passes the spirits of men will not subside; and the present happy scene of harmony and union (growing beyond all your hopes, and never to be restored when lost) will be changed into distrust, alienation, and complaining in your streets, and *not in your streets alone*, but Councils too must partake of the dangerous consequences, for in effect what degree of confidence can subsist between the maintainers of this fundamental liberty and the neglecters or impairers of it? I entreat your forgiveness for my freedom and plainness, but truth and conscience impel me to suppress nothing; and I beg to leave it to your Grace’s own breast (as warm for your country’s good as I can pretend my own to be)

¹ To Hardwicke, 2st May, 1758.—MS.

to say that as there was a sufficient balance in hand to satisfy his Highness of Wolfsenbuttel, £2,000 a-year should in future be paid to Prince Ferdinand. Bedford, grieved and mortified, sent the whole correspondence to Primate Stone, for the information in confidence of himself and brother Lords Justices only; but manifestly to vindicate himself to them from the suspicion of having helped subserviently while absent to deal extortionately with the poorer country heavily overweighted in the race of industry. The Primate could not bring himself to own that anything was wrong that emanated from his old patron, and sought to comfort the Viceroy with an undertaking to defend the new grant if attacked in Parliament. But he hoped that the generous gift made in defence of impoverished Ireland by her absent chief governor would tend to ward off like blisters in future; but should the existing revenue fail to meet increasing expenditure, he knew not in what form additional taxes could be profitably imposed. The bulk of the people were not regularly either lodged, clothed, or fed, and those things which in England were called necessaries of life were to them only accidents, and they could, and in many places did, subsist without them. Estates had risen within thirty years to near double the value, but the condition of the occupiers of the land was not better than it had been before that increase, nor could he imagine any resource for raising money there, but by an immediate tax on land.¹

Yet so improvident was the habit of injustice that the sole response to his representation was an embargo placed by order in Council on all ships in Irish ports freighted with beef and pork, which next to linen was the staple of its trade with the colonies.

The Primate confessed that once more he had *invita Minerva* slid into Opposition. He had tried hard, but as time went on and the Castle got into the habit of not listening for his chariot wheels, and the national plight was becoming thereby so much the worse, he could not be still. He was anxious, indeed, that the mixed motives of his chequered demeanour should be understood by the giver of all his greatness at Whitehall, and he took pains to recount how often he had obeyed his Grace's instructions to support the Viceroy, and how regrettfully he had gone against them, when duty required that the crozier of St.

¹ To Duke of Bedford, 15th August, 1758.

Patrick should be raised in what the wicked called faction. The logic is not very clear, perhaps was not meant to be, but the inference was plain enough, that if he were only again taken into ruling conclave he would be the same cornerstone of order and law he had formerly been.

Unanimity in the Commons and success in the Lords salved, but could not heal Ministerial wounds. The First Lord apologised to Chesterfield for not sooner disclosing to him the personal history of his recent vexations in the Cabinet, but acknowledged that he was glad he had taken his advice not to break the skin of outward appearances. "He had been so plagued and disturbed with the most unpleasant situation that ever man was in, that he had scarce had an hour to himself; disagreeable altercations, and most disagreeable correspondence had been his fate for some months."¹

If news from America, however, chimed with that from Germany, they might hope at last for peace abroad, till which, the Earl was all for peace among themselves. After that he said a little wrangling at home would keep up their spirits.

Nor was the Black Continent wanting in its contribution of triumph. Captain Wilson, who had charge of an expedition to the Senegal, consisting of five sloops and gunboats with marines on board, was able to report entire success, with a handsome amount of negroes and cannon, as Oliver Goldsmith would say, taken prisoners of war. 400 tons of gum, 500 slaves, 50,000 dollars and a quantity of gold-dust, and a stock of goods enough to trade with the French for a year to come, with magazines full of stores.² Could anyone doubt that here was a good investment for some of the recent votes of credit, passed *nem. con.* for the defence of the Kingdom?

Pitt desired a Cabinet to be summoned by Holderness at his house on the 18th June, to consider what fresh expedition should be undertaken against Brest, Rochefort, or somewhere on the French coast in consequence of the failure at St. Malo.

Everywhere his aggressive spirit animated the forces of England by sea and land, and it only required the signal victory of Frederick over the Russians at Zorndorff somewhat later on, to render the pursuit of his ambitious policy more enthusiastic.

¹ To Chesterfield, 10th June, 1758.—MS.

² Cleveland, 10th June, 1758.—MS.

leading card for the rate of interest to be paid next year. We must, therefore, by all ways we can, avoid increasing the rate of interest, for if we are forced to give 4 per cent., be the events of the summer what they may, I fear we shall not be able to raise a farthing next year under that sum, and that will add considerably to the amount of tax necessary for paying the interest. Gideon imputes the downfall of Stocks, the scarcity of money to be borrowed on the Vote of Credit, and the inability of bankers to help in it, singly to the discount allowed on prompt payment. This has in all probability contributed; but the true and substantial cause is the large quantity of money drawn and sent out of the country, within a very short time. Has all the money which this artificial allurement has been able to procure you done more than enable you to defray the most indispensable services at the period when they were due—to keep touch with the King of Prussia, to pay the Hessians and Hanoverians, to pay the Dock-yards, and to keep down the course of the Navy? Which of these services could have been omitted or even postponed? The only service that in the nature of things we could delay, we did delay, and pay interest to the banks to this hour upon no less than £376,427, being the last year's deficiency of Malt Tax, a thing which I believe was never known before, and that notwithstanding the enhanced payments which the premium for prompt payment has procured you."¹

George II. was greatly depressed by his conviction of the danger of the Electorate and the endless cost of providing for its defence. He made numerous advances out of his own income to meet the necessities of his German troops, until at last he could say with truth that he had spent two millions and a half since the beginning of the war, in addition to all that had been voted by Parliament. "I spoke to Mr. Pitt last Friday that we might leave off while we were well and successful. The recent reverse at St. Cast will give a damp to expeditions, and now about our home squadron and intended design against Martinique. I am very sorry Lord Anson did not come in immediately upon Mr. Pitt's letter and leave his squadron cruising under Admiral Saunders. I want his Lordship, for at present I transact with no one but Cleveland; and I find Pitt uneasy at the whole squadron coming home just now, as our design against Martinique should

¹ Legge to Newcastle, 4th Sept., 1758.—MS.

be kept the greatest secret. The continuance of alarms on the French coast would have been a blind. I like this scheme of Martinique better than any but that of Louisburgh. It should go strong enough both in troops and ships. Abercrombie is to be recalled and Amherst to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief in North America. Though Pitt at first thought well of him, poor Abercrombie was never fit for such a command. The King talks as much, and writes as much, to drive the French out of North America as the Common Council of London; but his Majesty would like to gain besides other points and advantages which I am afraid will in any event be very difficult to secure. As to carrying on the war for another year, all the Chancellor of the Exchequer's notions for improving the revenue are chimerical. The Sinking Fund must be the collateral security; the increase of the produce is no security. So that this is an indirect way of mortgaging the Sinking Fund, which is what I never can consent to, and which Mr. Pitt told me the other day he was of opinion should never be done. And if the war goes on another year we must make our account upon raising twelve millions at least, including a Vote of Credit. We must have 2d. addition on Malt. We have seen by our Plate Tax, and shall see by our Place Tax what taxes of honour and upon those of the first rank only will or can produce. It is a sad story, but thus it is."¹ Pitt talked reasonably, but would increase the force sent against Martinique to 6000 men. He had promised to give up all other expeditions or drains from hence, except 700 men from Ireland to be sent against the Island of Goree, and something for the securing of Senegal, which Anson declared to be necessary. The difficulty of finding money increased from the quick recurrence of subscriptions to recent loans, and the First Lord lavished, as usual, much pity on himself that he was in town in the dead of the autumn "quite alone, equally to combat both his Master and Mr. Pitt at times; and the first struggle often made the last more difficult; and yet he thought he fared much better with the first than with the last. That which grieved him most was to be *alone, quite alone*, in deliberation, for meetings there were none."²

Bute's ambition grew exigent as his domination in the Court of the Heir Apparent became more and more established. • He

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 17th Sept., 1758.—MS.

² Newcastle to Hardwicke, 19th Sept., 1758.—MS.

exultant tones demanded supplies and exertions greater than ever. No objection was raised to any part of his statement, and no new expedient suggested for raising men. The Militia, still unpopular, and very imperfectly drilled, would, it was said, sufficiently protect the country from invasion; and while our flag waved triumphantly on every sea, who would have the meanness to palter about expense? The Crown might be said to have doubled its dependencies in three out of four quarters of the globe; and the multitudes brought to acknowledge its sway no man could number.

Pitt never stood better with the Whigs and with the Court, and Mr. Gideon was ready with new plans for raising money for the needs of the coming year. He expected, in requital of his services, to be made a Baronet, and George II., when applied to, acknowledged in the handsomest terms how much both he and the Government were obliged to their City friend. But he wished it explained to him that the accident of his not having been brought up in the religion of the country might afford an opportunity to the ill-affected to raise injurious cavils, and consequently that just then he would rather not be pressed to confer an honour which was certainly so well deserved.¹ Upon this Mr. Samson Gideon produced his baptismal certificate, which he set out in full, as furnished by the proper officer of the parish of St. Gregory, in the City of London.²

Lord Middleton moved the Address in the Commons, which Sir R. Grosvenor seconded in terms of florid eulogy of Ministers. Their Leader was the shining light, or rather the blazing star, of the country to carry it to honour, security, and peace. Alderman Beckford approved, but must speak his mind freely. He would give two millions but not three; but America must be the primary object, and Germany the secondary. Pitt responded to this challenge from "his friend who represented the first city in the world," by assuring him that King and Ministers alike thus marshalled in their thoughts the relative aims of the war. If the expense of the latter almost equalled that of the former it might be regretted, but could not be helped if necessity made it so. The ship was at sea: she had got winds and waves to meet; and all obstructions should be endeavoured to be re-

¹ Newcastle Correspondence, 8th December, 1758.—MS.

² Rev. William Rayner, Incumbent, 8th December, 1758.—MS.

moved ; but England, the Mistress of the Ocean, should not act despotically there, nor sanction the excesses of our privateers, who had often done great wrong to neutrals. A battle might have even then or might soon be fought on which the fate of half the Powers of Europe might depend for half a century.¹

The early intimacy between Pitt and Bute, after many interruptions, revived. The Groom of the Stole began to be impatient for actual participation in Executive Council.

In a memorandum dictated by the Duke, particulars are given of an alleged Conference between Bute and Pitt, in which the former asked what was to be done in case of any accident to the King. The Secretary is represented as loyally insisting on the continuance of the First Lord at the Treasury, in consideration of his long services and fidelity to the reigning family. Bute was said to have exclaimed : "What ! the Duke of Newcastle remain where he is ? That cannot be." All sorts of regard should be paid to him, and his friends should be considered, but he was not to continue what he then was. Pitt rejoined that without marking out any particular station he thought his Grace should be supported. Bute said the Prince of Wales would be very glad of Pitt's services, but he must not expect to assign this man this employment and another to another. This was far, Pitt said, from his thoughts.²

Thus early the schemes were hatching which three years later came to maturity for the reconstitution of the Cabinet.

The trusty go-between called again at Lincoln's Inn Fields to tell that Pitt had sent for him, apparently to efface any misapprehensions that might have grown out of recent talk with Bute. He said they had differed on some points, but were now pretty well of accord, though he did not mean to say *que nous sommes d'accord en tout*: but he had said plainly that "Newcastle was the Minister at present ; and he had told Bute that he thought the Duke should be *un bon parti dans le Ministère à l'avenir*. His Lordship had said that to be Minister of this country hereafter was what Newcastle could not be." Pitt contented himself by saying that Temple was still his way of thinking ; but it seemed clear enough to C.V. that they were all expected to submit to the Prince of Wales and Lord Bute.³

¹ Sec. West, 23rd November, 1758.—MS.

² V. Jones, on the information of Count Viry before quoted, 19th December, 1758.—MS.

³ Confidential memorandum in handwriting of Private Sec. Jones, 20th December, 1758.—MS.

consulted regarding them ; but division on such a day might be fatal, and therefore with all his heart he should oppose any modification of them. He was for taxing shops as well as public-houses, but he had been overruled. He did not disguise his opinion, though it might cause him to be stoned in the streets. His leaning had always been for heavier excise and freer ports ; and he hoped the day for that financial policy might come : it might not be to-morrow, but he saw it afar off and was glad. The best statesman for England was he who understood trade and navigation best. Sir Robert Walpole meant honestly by his memorable scheme of inland duties ; but, like every wise man, he was forced to yield to the exigencies of administration, without due care for which no man could accomplish anything. Without, therefore, liking the Budget, he thoroughly agreed to it. Beckford, satisfied with various compliments paid him, withdrew his amendment, and Legge's resolution passed without division. Next day Secretary West was happy to tell his chief that they had been able to make a House at four o'clock, and that all the resolutions in Committee had been agreed to.

For all the fiving and drumming in glorification of the war, and the ceaseless boasting that the nation was of one mind for its continuance—until, to use Pitt's phrase, our natural enemy "was not only brought to his knees, but laid upon his back,"—unquixotic selfishness led the humbler sort to take advantage of the occasion when they were asked to enlist. The old bounty of forty shillings did not draw ; and it was found necessary to stimulate flagging zeal by supplementary offers of five guineas a head with the freedom of the City to all who should come back alive. Lest the additional sums required should not be forthcoming in voluntary subscriptions, other expedients were resorted to. Men of fortune who raised regiments were led to incur greater expense in recruiting, by being allowed to nominate to half the commissions, for which, theretofore, the price was paid to the War Office. Although such engagements were always in the name of the Crown, the Secretary of State, on his responsibility only, gave authority, after the passing of the Mutiny Act in each year, for the raising a regiment or keeping up its strength ; and the Secretary-at-War, before he issued his Beating Orders to the different colonels of regiments, had to satisfy himself that Parliament had sanctioned

their "establishment," by the annual Votes in Supply, and that there were vacancies.¹

There were not wanting those who wished to stir dissatisfaction between the ill-cemented elements of the Cabinet. James Grenville sought to propitiate Leicester House by confidential disclosures of their difficulties at the Treasury regarding the new taxes, which Bute affected to discourage, saying that if he were in the Duke's position he would not tolerate proofs like these of dissension at the Board, which, for the sake of the public, all ought to regret. But the more Pitt railed at Legge for his behaviour, the more Bute recommended him to the Prince of Wales, and the fonder the Prince grew of him. It was much to be regretted, the Earl said, that the Leader of the Commons was not content with being Secretary of State, but he must direct the Treasury likewise. The Prince and he esteemed Pitt, but his temper and his overbearing were what they could not but much blame.²

M. Viry went and came between the Treasury and Leicester House, and between the Groom of the Stole and the Leader of the House of Commons. Some cause of pique had suddenly arisen between the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so recently the subject of his applause; and this ill-humour it was the wish of the Plenipotentiary to allay. Newcastle imagined that Pitt and Legge wanted to find an excuse for going out, to escape the reproach of "an infamous Speech."³ The Italian envoy, with unjaundiced eyes, read more truly between the lines of Pitt's impetuosity and petulance. In a recent interview he would not let him speak upon the business of his Court, but wished to know whether his friend Bute had spoken to him about Legge. If Leicester House would let him know their sentiments, there was nothing he would not do to please them; but they were reserved towards him and did not speak to him. If they desired he should be absolutely reconciled to Legge, he was ready to agree to it, but ne en leavoured to engage M. Viry to induce Legge to take the first step, and all would be over.⁴ Viry's object seems to have uniformly been

¹ Clode's "Military Forces," II., 6.

² Private mem. by Newcastle of conversation with Count Viry, 21st February, 1759.—MS.

³ Mem. for the King, 13th March, 1759.—MS.

⁴ Private mem. of Newcastle's, 14th March, 1759.—MS.

though it would not suffice, and the failure of subscription for the War Loan at three-and-a-half per cent., consequent on the unexampled outflow of bullion both to Germany and to India, made a prorogation for a day necessary in order to take fresh powers to offer higher interest. Meanwhile, their moneyed friends in the City might be privately consulted at the Cockpit when his Grace came to town, as to what measures could be taken to stop the drain of gold, by encouraging the Dutch to bring their specie into the country, or arrest the outflow.¹

The recent attack on the financial policy of Administration by the Leader of the House, whether interpreted as aimed at the Board of Treasury in general, or at the Chancellor of the Exchequer in particular, fostered the misgiving without doors, if not within, that there was division in the Cabinet, tending to a breach ere long; and this evil was worsened by the fact, not unknown abroad, of a certain crippling in the credit of the Government, in which our enemies could not but exult. Pitt disclaimed any other purpose in the sharpness of his recent words than to stimulate those who had charge of the national finance to take the necessity of the case to heart, and before it might be too late to provide against the evil day of discredit. In a piteous tone, the First Lord said that "it was, indeed, amazing that one who, by his own measures, had thrown the nation into immense expenditure which it could not support, and caused such drains of money out of the Kingdom which could not be supplied, and the present fall of Stock, should think to lay the blame upon the Treasury because they could not make more money than there was in the Kingdom, or bring it in from abroad when there was nothing to come. The real cause of the misfortune was that we engaged in expenses infinitely above our strength, and that people did not see an end of it. Expedition after expedition, campaign after campaign; no approach from any quarter towards peace; but scorn or imputation on those who might either think of it or talk of the necessity of it. The Powers arrayed against us were united as ever. The Court of Vienna had but one object—to wrest Silesia from the King of Prussia—and for that would give up all their measures in Italy and Flanders, and coöde to joint measures with France, let them be ever so extravagant. How to lessen the present expense so as to reduce the

¹ Mem. of Newcastle, 18th April, 1759.—MS.

money to be borrowed from six and a half millions to three millions only (as Legge had flung out), he knew not. They hoped to be successful in America this year ; but to think of being able to extirpate the French, or that if we did, such a nation as France would sit down tamely under it, was to him the idlest of all imaginations, and therefore he did not suppose that any advantage we might gain there would lessen our expense. Fleets and armies we must have to support our conquests, as well as to make them. There was a disposition to despise the idea of a French invasion of England or Ireland, but this was still the design of France, who had twenty-five sail of the line at Toulon; and fourteen at Brest. Probably the design would be postponed till October. It was to be hoped Spain would continue neuter, but nobody could say how long the neutrality would last. It deserved consideration whether the King of Prussia should not be apprised, *in confidence*, that it was impossible for this country to support the war another year. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was owing to an order sent to Lord Sandwich in February or March to declare to the Queen of Hungary's Ministers that we could not carry on the war any longer than that campaign." The true state of the finances, the credit and the distress of the Kingdom had never been concealed from Pitt. He had often been told the impossibility of going on another year, and, whatever his real opinion might be, he never owned that he saw things in that light. If the Treasury was in any degree to be blamed for delay, procrastination, or uncertainty in their method of raising the money, Newcastle was undoubtedly clear of that imputation. Everybody knew that he had proposed a tax upon malt just after Christmas, which, if it had not been absolutely rejected by Pitt and Legge, would have passed in January without opposition.¹

Hardwicke shared these financial fears. The picture was disheartening, and in their situation it was much easier to state the evil than to find a remedy. Legge's suggestion of running into debt on the various services and raising a million less was a ruinous one. There was a great objection to making a new Session in order to increase the discounts to be allowed on new loans : "It had never been done but once, and that after the South Sea scare. It would cause an alarm throughout the

¹ Mem. of Newcastle's, 19th April, 1759.—MS.

yet come ; but he was dissuaded by Newcastle, who justly approved of the tone and feeling of the letter, and advised instead that Lord Pembroke should be desired to thank the Prince, and say that his Majesty would give his request his best consideration. The Duke, as usual, consulted "the Lady *alone*," who agreed with him that the fear of the Duke of Cumberland was the cause of the letter, and that it pointed to the command of the Army ; but that if the French landed the King meant to go himself, and would take his grandson with him.¹

It was left to Pitt to frame the answer, and when inflated duly with the pomp of words, in which he never failed, it was submitted to his colleagues, to whom it seemed to be neither gracious nor polite ; but as he had vouchsafed his countersign, he was evidently proud of it, and they were content to let it go.² Frederick was never so sincerely anxious to bring about a peace. He told Mitchell that it was a miracle things had gone so well hitherto. "I have," he said, "deceived my enemies this year by acting where they did not expect I would, and by being on the defensive where they thought I intended to make my push. The stratagem will do for once, but must not be repeated; for my enemies will learn at last to be upon their guard, and strong everywhere, and then I shall have a bad time of it."³ The letter containing these urgent confessions of danger was received at Whitehall on the 2nd of June, and it weighed heavily on the conscience of the Cabinet, but under the inexorable ascendancy of Pitt no new resolution was taken. He was sorry, of course, for Frederick's defeat at Kergen,⁴ and his subsequent despondency ; but no misfortune or misery of his ally or of his decimated people could be suffered to cloud the future of foreign conquest, of which he believed himself to be the inspiring spirit.

Although every suggestion of peace from Frederick had been hitherto spurned, the First Lord fervently, though feebly, clutched at the renewed hope Mitchell's last letters conveyed : "The greatest attention should be given to this overture from Prussia, and Frederick should be acquainted that though George II.

¹ To Hardwicke, 20th July, 1759.—*MS.*

² Newcastle Corr.-p., 29th July, 1759.—*MS.*

³ Mitchell to Newcastle, 20th May, 1759.—*MS.*

⁴ 23rd April, 1759.

was ready and determined to push on the war in all parts with the utmost vigour, he was fully sensible of the necessity of peace; and was, therefore, desirous to enter with confidence and secrecy into an immediate consideration with his Prussian Majesty of the means of bringing it about. The most zealous supporters and promoters of war would consider that, after this second admonition from the King of Prussia, after his frank declaration that he had deceived his enemies this year by a stratagem which would do for once, but must not be repeated,—if after this they took little or no notice of this declaration, but obstinately opinionated the continuance of war, the King of Prussia would be justified before God and man if he took the best care he could of himself.”¹

In all which Hardwicke thoroughly agreed, and wished for a meeting of the Cabinet as soon as Devonshire and the Lord Keeper could attend.² Mansfield, on the other hand, did not believe it was in the power of Prussia or England to make peace at present.

The dependence upon Holderness in the Cabinet and at Court was gradually wearing away in the absorbing control over foreign affairs, both Northern and Southern, which his colleague had come to exercise. On the 3rd of June, having to explain some difference of understanding between them which the Duke wished to clear up at Kensington, his once obsequious lieutenant was “both rude and impertinent, and was pleased to sneer at him when his back was turned. He would not endure this behaviour, and would, in future, have as little communication with him as possible.”³ More than ever he relied on being fed with the sort of information (usually unimportant, if true) from the Hague, wherewith to garnish his morning refection at Kensington; and thus Holderness was slowly and stupidly mining, though with damp combustibles, his own unbutressed position.

Hardwicke saw clearly “how silly and surprising Holderness’s conduct was.” The difficulty lay—not in parting with him, but supplying his place.

More distressed in Administration no one could be than New-

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 3rd June, 1759.—MS.

² Reply, same date.

³ Hardwicke, 3rd June, 1759.—MS.

*etait totalement battu.*¹ Minden surrendered next day, and Munster soon after. All was thus recovered in two days which had taken months to acquire.² The blame was laid upon the Duke de Broglie for the loss of the battle, which greatly disheartened, and for a time disorganised, the French Army. Much discord and contention arose in consequence at Versailles, where no two Ministers agreed about either the past or the future, and concurred in nothing but an earnest wish for peace. Louis XV. was known to have said that he was thoroughly tired of the war, and would be content with even bad terms of pacification, rather than see the ruin of his people, and Mme. de Pompadour was of the same opinion.³ Satisfaction in England was, however, damped by the notoriety of Prince Ferdinand's censure of Lord G. Sackville, who at a critical moment of the battle held the corps he commanded in check when ordered to advance, conceiving, as he said, that the order conveyed to him must have been given in mistake. His offer of congratulation at the end of the day was spurned by the Prince in the face of his exhausted Staff, on the ground that by his disobedience the retreating host had escaped destruction. Lord Granby, who replaced him in command, did not disguise in a confidential letter his regretful concurrence in the judgment of the General-in-Chief; and Sackville could only ask leave of absence to vindicate himself at home as best he might.

The funds rose when the news of Minden was confirmed, and went higher on the first intelligence of the conflict between Frederick and his Russian adversary. All the Cabinet but Pitt and Temple interchanged congratulations at these reassurances that peace was nigh, nay certain, if Providence would smite the French in Canada.⁴ Beaten on the Continent and desponding in America, nothing remained for the enemy but the forlorn hope of invasion. Although the King of Prussia had been beaten at Zullichau by the Russians, he seemed to be rallying his broken corps in the hope of covering Berlin. And thus the politics of the Exchequer looked overcast. The Bank would not advance another shilling on the Vote of Credit, and the best

¹ Yorke to Newcastle, 6th August, 1759.—MS.

² *Ibid.*, 7th August, 1759.—MS.

³ Cressener, August, received 6th September, 1759.—MS.

⁴ Newcastle to Mansfield, 22nd August, 1759.—MS.

they could offer was four-and-a-half per cent. for a partial advance on the Land Tax, which, with prize money of more than half a million, would perhaps enable Legge to present a solvent Budget at the close of the year. Next year the moneyed men would possibly find a way to lend another seven millions to provide for another campaign "on their own terms and conditions, which, to be sure, would be high. •But if we must make war we must pay for it as long as we could. As for taxes, there was no other but twopence or threepence additional on malt and a moderate tax on shops, which would be objected to by many, and would be very unpopular if not known to be the scheme of a certain person. Sugar and tobacco were already loaded to a height which made any further Excise impracticable."¹ All these growing sources of difficulty and causes of misgiving are painted out, if, indeed, they were ever accurately noted, in the panoramic histories of the Seven Years' War. Pitt had for two years the upper hand in Council, and something nearly approaching a Dictatorship in the use of naval and military force by sea and land ; and we are still told to sit with bated breath and contemplate his glory. Public credit was not, indeed, broken ; but it was maintained only by daily augmenting bonuses in one shape or other out of the pockets of posterity. Commerce was not, indeed, crippled ; but confessedly it was stimulated and pampered by lawless domination at sea. The increase of population had not been arrested; but its young fruit was squandered in every clime and zone, "for power, for plunder, and extended rule." There is not in the Cabinet correspondence of the time a snatch of pity or remorse for the price thus exacted.

The first sanguine account of Kunnersdorff gave to Frederick a supposed victory over the Russians, but ere there was time to acquaint the scattered members of the Cabinet, the truer version of that sanguinary conflict came to hand, by which it appeared that the Prussians, much disorganised, were obliged to fall back, in order to cover Berlin, whence the Royal Family had fled to Magdeburg. The strategic results of the battle proved less formidable than was expected, but in giving an account of it to George I. the First Lord of the Treasury stated that 40,000 slain were left upon the field.²

¹ Newcastle to Mansfield, 26th August, 1759. — MS.

² Mem. for the King, 27th August, 1759. — MS.

made my relation, and his answer was that he would not give the Garter ; that Lord Temple had insulted him ; that it was a shame to be so treated ; that if a method could be found by which the thing could be done without any act to be performed by him, he would consent to it. I assured him that Mr. Pitt had expressed himself with the utmost decency and respect ; that he had renounced the notion of force from the beginning ; that he wished it only as a demonstration of his Majesty's approbation of his services, by this mark in the person of his brother-in-law, whose station, fortune, and family rendered him an object. To that the King made no reply, but that other Lords Privy Seal had not had it. I represented the consequence of the refusal, and the opinion of Devonshire, Hardwicke, and myself. He said that the Duke was a very good man, but that he was a coward like myself ; that Hardwicke had more courage ; and that I would have given up the Habeas Corpus affair if it had not been for Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield. I assured him that was a misinformation, and that I should never have given up a point so material. He said very angrily, 'Did you not tell me you would not leave me ?' 'Yes, sir ; and I don't think of leaving you.' 'What did you mean, then, by what you said to Lady Yarmouth ?' 'Nothing of leaving you. I only said I did not see the possibility of carrying on your affairs.' I afterwards asked the King what his own thoughts were upon that. He said, 'There is Legge and Barrington.' 'Indeed, sir, that will not do. I have spoken to Legge, and find he will not dare undertake anything.' 'Well, if Mr. Pitt comes to Court seldom, so much the better. I don't like to see him.' 'But, sir, what will be the consequence if Mr. Pitt is dissatisfied and his brothers are in open opposition ?' 'Pitt will not oppose his own measures.' 'No, but his friends will oppose everything else, and particularly the affairs of the Treasury ; and when such immense sums are to be raised, it is always easy to find out objections. Sir, let me not carry a positive refusal. Let me tell Mr. Pitt your Majesty will consider it for a fortnight ; then he will have hopes.' 'If you say anything of that kind I will disavow you to Pitt. I will be forced.' 'For God's sake, sir, don't say so. What an appearance will that have ?' I told him Mr. Pitt said his Majesty was within two fingers' breadth of passing his reign in quiet and ease, or of not having an easy moment. I had my reason for

saying it. ‘Why, eh, is not that force?’ ‘Indeed, sir, he did not speak of himself, he meant something else. What he meant I know not.’ ‘*I will be forced!*’ The world shall see how I am used. I will have it known.’ ‘What good, sir, can arise from thence? Perhaps many may blame Mr. Pitt for pushing it; but at the same time they will be sorry to see your affairs in confusion for such an object.’ All the answer I could get was, ‘I will be forced;’ and I was to acquaint Mr. Pitt of what the King had said.

“I then made my full report to Mr. Pitt, who received it as like a reasonable man as ever man received anything. He lamented very much his situation. He begged I would inform the King that he renounced force, and neither proposed nor would accept it upon that foot. What he wanted was the Garter *given*, not *taken*. He had no thoughts of leaving, and would do the same for the King, both as King and Elector, as he would have done had this been granted. He talked feelingly of the part Devonshire, yourself, and I had taken, and said what must be his case when we three, assisted by Lady Yarmouth, could not procure such a trifling? The purport for him was that the King did not think much of his services. He might reason that a peace was near, and that he might have no further occasion for him. He would, however, still do his best, hoping that at last his Majesty would do it voluntarily. But if Temple did not know the whole he would suspect those he had no right to suspect.

“I made my report to Lady Yarmouth, who thinks Pitt’s dependence upon her will be disappointed. She thinks a longer absence from Court would have done more. During my audience, the King talked slightly of Holderness, and said he did not know what to do with him. Legge is giving himself airs, and will not return from the country till his wife has the peerage.”

Next day came Pitt’s memorable explosion. disappointment and mock humiliation, which Newcastle attempted to read to the King. His Majesty refused to hear it. He abused the style of the letter, his eloquence, &c., and said, ‘Well, now I see I am to be sometimes forced, sometimes wheedled; I see plainly I am nothing and wish to be gone.’ ‘Sir! I hope your Majesty will not talk so, and you will neither think it advisable nor practicable.’ ‘Practicable! What do you mean? Nobody can force

recited the contents in an audience at Kensington, whence, through Knyphausen, they were informally communicated to Holderness, and by him to Pitt. In his reply to his enraged colleague, Newcastle enclosed the correspondence with Yorke, "which would, he hoped, convince him that this was an affair of no serious consequence whatever; he knew not one word of it, and had been determined not to say one word upon it, but to send it back, which he would have done that very night. He would not have entered into any correspondence of business, especially relating to peace, with Mr. Yorke or any of the King's Ministers (abroad) whatever, upon any account in the world. He was as innocent and as ignorant of everything relating to the affair, if it were of consequence, as any man alive."¹

Newcastle had never attached any importance to what he termed "those cursed female letters" from Paris, which Yorke had sent him, and which he always feared would sooner or later cause some embarrassment. On the 21st October "the great Lord Holderness told him that he had found out, or by some means it had come to his knowledge, that Yorke had sent him two letters from a lady at Paris relating to peace; that he thought it his duty to acquaint Pitt with it, that as it was in his (Lord Holderness's) province, Pitt might not suspect him. Was there ever such a wicked part played by man as this by Holderness to destroy the King's affairs, to make Pitt outrageous with Joe Yorke and himself?" He had at once answered Pitt's complaint and made a full report of the entire transaction to the King on the following day. George II. said that Holderness was Pitt's footman.²

The wrath of Pitt was not thus to be appeased: "I understand your Grace has received, some days since, a letter from Mr. Yorke relating to certain dapplings for peace on the part of some lady (supposed to be the Dowager Princess of Zerbist), together with Mr. Yorke's answer to the same. As it is so indispensably the right of a Secretary of State to be informed, *instantly*, of every transaction of this nature, and as the King's service and the public good must be essentially and incurably prejudiced by such suppressions in a moment so critical that one

¹ Newcastle to Pitt, 23rd October, 1759.

² Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23rd October, 1759.—MS.

false step may prove fatal, I find myself necessitated to mention this matter to your Grace. I know not how far your Grace may have had the King's orders for this clandestine proceeding. If such be his Majesty's pleasure, it is my duty to receive it with all possible respect and submission ; but I must find myself thereby deprived of the means of doing his Majesty any service. I beg the favour of your Grace to lay me at the King's feet and to inform his Majesty that my health requires the air of the country for two or three days.”¹

The King asked the First Lord, with a smile, what answer he had had from Pitt. His Grace replied, “A very bad one,” and then read the letter, which the King appeared to know. Newcastle said Pitt might mean to quit, but George I. said he would not quit his own schemes and measures. “Suppose he should determine not to go on, does your Majesty think it possible for me to carry on the business, receiving two or three threatening letters a week ?”—“My Lord, you must bear what I bear.”—“Affairs cannot go on without Mr. Pitt, and nobody can go on with him except he is brought into humour. It is not the affair of Yorke, it is the other object.” The King then reproached Newcastle for having brought in Pitt and connected himself with him. Newcastle said nothing else would then do, and asked whether the war could have been carried on at such immense expense without the unanimity of the people, the popularity, the Common Council, &c., which was all owing to Pitt, so that it could not have been done without him. The King returned no answer to this, but said that Pitt could not look upon Yorke's correspondence in the light of a negotiation for peace, for he had told him he would not conclude a peace without first consulting him. Newcastle could carry on the Government without Pitt, for he had a majority in the Commons. The Duke said nobody could have a majority at present against Pitt. Notwithstanding this, the King replied that he would not give the Garter unless forced to it.²

Pitt said he knew there were some who desired another campaign, but for his part he differed, as he did not think we should be in a better position than now. He also expressed the hope that something might be agreed on for mention in the Speech.

¹ Pitt to Newcastle, 23rd Oct., 1759.—MS.

² Newcastle to Hardwicke, 25th Oct., 1759.—MS.

ships had been destroyed—two made the prey of fire, and the rest were nowhere to be seen. Two frigates—the *Essex* and the *Resolution*—had gone ashore in pursuit of them, their crews being with difficulty saved. The loss of life had been comparatively small; and but one officer had fallen in the struggle.

The appetite for conquest grew by what it fed on, and Ministers did not hesitate to ask increased supplies to carry on the war. Seventy thousand seamen were necessary for the armed marine; and Legge told the Committee of Supply that he could not bring the Navy Estimates within £3,640,000. For the land forces, consisting of 57,294, garrisons, fortresses, and Crown Colonies, embodied militia, 38,750 troops in Hanover, with various other supplementary corps, he would require a sum of £3,236,729; in addition to which £781,489 must be provided for ordnance, hospitals, half-pay, &c.; for pay and clothing of the unembodied militia, £80,000; rate of credit for the current year, £1,000,000. In all, upwards of £15,000,000 for the cost of war. The net revenue for the year 1760 was estimated for Great Britain, at £9,207,445 18s. 5d.; produce of funded and unfunded debt, £14,464,061 12s. 2d.

Barrington had a younger brother who was his chief anxiety. He still remained without any provision, "which was the more distressful to the Secretary-at-War because every other brother was most happily provided for; a most amiable and accomplished young man, who was loved and esteemed by all who knew him, and who had never in his whole life done anything which his brother ~~but~~ not approved, seemed to be singled out for neglect. He had been two years in priest's orders, and was one of the King's chaplains. Anything in the Church not under three hundred pounds a-year would make both him and Barrington completely happy. As they belonged to Berkshire, a stall at Windsor would be peculiarly acceptable. Two of his brothers had served the King well in the army and the fleet, and he must be the most ungrateful man living if he forgot the infinite obligations to his Grace when one of his brothers was made a Welsh Judge. Whatever advantage he might receive from his present solicitation, he would be entirely devoted to his Grace. If his brother got nothing that devotion would not be the less, and if he were made an Archbishop it could not be greater."¹

¹ Barrington to Newcastle, 26th December, 1759.—MS.

He was not long afterwards made Bishop of Llandaff, and ultimately of Durham. Robert Nugent, who with Beckford's brother represented Bristol, was rewarded for his adherence to the fortunes of the Pelhams with one of the Vice-Treasurerships of Ireland. Thenceforth he drew nearer to Pitt, and in consequence became Viscount Clare in the Irish Peersage. Goldsmith was his frequent and flattered guest, but he had no influence to spare for the service of his friend.

The eventful year appropriately closed with a Cabinet by special summons called at the Admiralty to consider the orders to be issued to the fleets. Boscawen was to replace Hawke, and if Pitt did not disclose some immediate purpose of dealing with the advances recently made by the French commander, D'Aiguillon, great efforts were to be made to reinforce the squadron in the Baltic.¹ Pitt, however, disconcerted by the imminence of peace, if negotiations were opened with France, had refurbished his reasons for prolonging war, one of which was that "if we made a separate peace with France, including even the King of Prussia and the King of England as Elector, Prussia and Hanover might not be able to carry on the war against the Queen of Hungary, and possibly Russia, without powerful assistance from hence, which he thought when our affairs were made up could not be had." Whatever force there might be in this argument, his colleagues were persuaded that if we could not treat with France apart from her Allies, the proposed Congress would come to naught, for the Court of Vienna was so elated with recent successes that it would agree to nothing short of a restitution of Silesia.

For the rest, the Dictator was apparently in good humour, and though placing no confidence in Holderness, said "that he had good parts, but that he was futile except as a spokesman for Leicester House, where he would be the *vortex* in the next reign."²

¹ Newcastle Correspondence, December, 1759.—MS.

² Newcastle to Hardwicke, 2nd January, 1760.—MS.

land on the same foot as that in England, except that England was to have paid for it ; and in this they were supported by Pitt and Devonshire. The First Lord "thought this so contrary to all the principles they had ever acted on ; so repugnant to the notions and practices of Lord Somers and those that formed and wished well to the Union, that he told Pitt very early that he would oppose it throughout." On this Pitt took a middle part, repudiating the notion of a Scotch Militia identical with the English and disowning any intention of indiscriminately arming the Highlanders ; but recommending a modified scheme of enrolment in the counties beyond the Tweed, with the suspension of embodiment until urgent occasion should arise. This the Scotch disliked even more than a direct negative ; and Newcastle boasted that having gone to work in the old way to bring all his friends together from all parts of the country to vote against the Bill, it was thrown out by an overwhelming majority.¹

Great efforts had been made to whip the Members of the Lower House for the critical division on the Scotch Militia Bill ; but it was thrown out in a full House by two to one. Kensington and Claremont were elated, and Hayes overcast with chagrin. "Our great friend declares that if the Militia is not kept in good humour he cannot be for sending one man more to Germany ; but we hope we shall get the better of that."²

Pitt professed to regard with jealousy the refusal of Frederick to confide to the English Government what concessions he was willing to make for the sake of peace ; and construed his reserve as evidence of an attempt to get into his own hands the conduct of negotiations to which he had no reasonable claim, having lost much, while we had gained much more, by the events of war. These views did not accord with those of Newcastle, but they pleased the King. Pitt's vehemence almost betrayed him into a quarrel with M. Knyphausen ; and it looked as if he meant to fling the blame of both war and peace, or rather the not making a proper peace, upon the King of Prussia, who in his desperate circumstances—and nobody thought them more desperate than Pitt—did nothing to help himself.

Newcastle said we could not carry on the war another year, as we should leave a debt upon the nation of four millions for the ex-

¹ To Kinnoul, 1st June, 1760.—MS.

² Newcastle to Granby, 22nd April, 1760.—MS.

penses of the current year. Pitt flew into a passion on this, and said that was the way to make peace impracticable and to encourage our enemy. We might have difficulties, but he knew we could carry on the struggle and were a hundred times better able to do it than the French. He did not want a peace ; but for the sake of the King of Prussia we were willing to forego all the advantages of this campaign in every part of the world. In short, there was no talking to him. He ran on afterwards like this to Lady Yarmouth, to which the Duke answered scarce one word, for it was to no purpose, and he began now to think with Hardwicke—though he owned from all his previous conversations he was of a contrary opinion—that nothing serious and effectual would be done towards peace, and God knew what the consequences would be! Everyone cried out for sending more troops to Germany, thinking rightly that that was where they were wanted, and that we had no occasion for them at home, where we had 30,000 regulars and 24,000 militia. Devonshire had always been in favour of sending reinforcements to Germany rather than that of creating diversions by expeditions¹ against France, which meant burning and ravaging the sea-coast districts whither they were sent. A new and unexpected jar in the Cabinet arose on the support promised by Pitt to Tory amendments of the Landed Qualification Bill. The Whigs were outrageous. Devonshire would oppose them, and Newcastle would oppose everything that differed from the last Bill, except the taking the oath in the House of Commons. Hardwicke tried to talk Pitt over, but without effect, for he seemed to have made up his mind.

The debate on the Bill was opened by Lord Carysfort, who, with Townshend, Fuller, Egmont, and Lord Middleton, opposed, and Stanton, Beckford, Sir John Phillips, Sir T. Robinson, Lord John Cavendish, and Pitt, were for going into Committee. The Secretary rebuked the democratic spirit in young men who objected to a property test of representation. "He was for a Bill that made land a turnpike to get into that House, equally for the landed and moneyed interest. He had himself been called an adventurer in tempestuous times ; he only came because he was called. Nothing could make him stay but the continuance of union and the support of the landed interest in that House,

¹ From Chatsworth, 10th April, 1760.—MS.

tions and hints to the mentor on whose sagacity and fertility of resource he officially subsisted. When left to himself he could only mimic badly the haughty tone and imperious bearing of the Secretary of State when recounting what passed at an interview with the new Spanish Ambassador. By desire of his Excellency, a conference took place at Lincoln's Inn Fields. He said that while he was Minister at Turin General Wall had consulted him on the best policy to be pursued by Spain under her new King; and that he had strongly advised the drawing closer if possible with Great Britain; for so allied the two nations might dispense with the necessity of wasting their resources in thankless subsidies. The Spanish Premier so thoroughly concurred in these views, and they were so cordially approved by his Catholic Majesty, that it was soon afterwards proposed to send him to London as their fitting exponent there. For himself he would only say, that with no other purpose he had come. Newcastle declared for himself and his colleagues that their sincere desire was to maintain cordial relations with the Court of Madrid, whereupon Fuentes rejoined that they must have material proofs of their good intentions. The right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland conceded to France ought not to be denied any longer to Spain; while the privilege hitherto disputed of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy ought to be finally abandoned, and permission instead accepted by commercial arrangement. Newcastle was on neither point prepared to yield. The French had the right of fishing by an existing treaty; and our right in Honduras rested on unbroken user, which we could not be expected to forego.¹

Pitt was not satisfied with the First Lord's account of his colloquy with the Ambassador. He said, in "a very extraordinary manner, and persisted in it to the last, that when the affair came to be decided—which must be soon—he would give no opinion; that it was Newcastle and Hardwicke who must determine it; and he begged of them to be considering of the affair, and come prepared with an opinion, when he (Pitt) would lay before them all the lights he could procure; that this affair had been long depending; that they were perfectly masters of it; and that General Wall always mentioned some hopes that had been given him of which he (Pitt) was entirely ignorant.

¹ Mem. of Conference at Newcastle House, 3rd July, 1760.—MS.

The Duke assured him that he knew nothing that could in any measure imply an intention of receding from our rights. He (Mr. Pitt) was not in a situation in the Administration to stand either breaking with Spain or giving up any right of this country. He did not apprehend the consequences of a breach with Spain so much as others might do, though he wished extremely to avoid it, in order to secure an alliance with that Crown. He thought Spain would give up the point of the Newfoundland fishery and would propose some expedient with regard to the logwood. He said the First Lord was the person who had the confidence of the King and the votes of the Commons, and a power which might enable him to withstand the one or the other; but his situation was very different. The Duke attributed this turn of conversation and this ill-humour to the Spanish Ambassador's having talked so fully to him on a point in Pitt's department.¹

Pitt sought, through Count Viry, to ascertain how Leicester House regarded, or were likely to regard, the concessions asked by Spain. Bute told him that no British Minister would venture to make them all, but that the question of Campeachy Bay might be adjusted. If Spain could be satisfied at the expense of France, it would be our policy and duty to conciliate her.² The sentiments of the Princess and her son upon the subject, if they had any, were not even glanced at in the narration, but Bute complained, not for the first time, that Pitt kept him at a distance, and communicated nothing to him in confidence. He seemed, notwithstanding, well up in the details of the Spanish affair, of which he pointedly remarked that he must have been ignorant if he had not other channels of communication, meaning thereby, as his visitor supposed, what he learned from Holderness.

July passed in feverish anxiety. The perils of Frederick's position, overmatched and circumvented by the Imperialists, who were full of plans for the dismemberment of Prussia, left the English Ministry brief intervals of repose. Frederick was ably sustained by Prince Ferdinand and Prince Henry, in each of whose separate *corps d'armée* English contingents greatly distinguished themselves. Pitt was enthusiastic in their praise; Newcastle thought all the feats of the campaign would prove

¹ Mem. Newcastle Corresp., 4th July, 1760.—MS.

² Mem. Conversation with Viry, 25th July, 1760.—MS.

anyone ventured to imagine. The Prince of Wales, whose ideas of Administration were mainly formed by him, did not probably forget the discussions and contentions of these last days of his grandsire. Pitt said that he saw no prospect of peace, and that we must prepare once more for war. If peace was to be negotiated for in the winter we must be ready for another campaign, or we should be at a disadvantage. Newcastle replied that he was preparing a state of the expenses. Pitt said we must raise sixteen millions. We could easily do it ; for there was such an affluence of money from all parts, the East Indies and elsewhere, that we could raise as many millions as we pleased. The First Lord agreed, but said the question was, where were they to find the security for those funds ? Pitt admitted the difficulty, but declared it could be done. Pitt evidently wanted to tell the head of the Treasury what to do. His Grace took it up warmly, and asked why it was not considered that he was preparing everything. Pitt replied : " I know you are of my opinion, but there are little low geniuses (meaning Legge) that think otherwise." His Grace thought that considering the pains he was taking to procure a correct statement of the finances to be laid before his colleagues " it was a little hard to be dictated to by this gentleman. However, he bore it all." The Budget for the coming year would be over sixteen millions, and with the great amount of money in the country he had no doubt he could raise ten millions ; but the rapid increase of the National Debt was a terrible consideration. He had been turning over in his mind every tax that had been ever suggested. Tobacco was already so highly charged that it would be no use adding to it ; it was different with regard to wine. The great objection to Walpole's scheme was the entering private houses, but if wine duties were collected in the form of excise like those on beer, candles, &c., from the dealers, vintners, and publicans, an immense sum might be raised.

Much to their surprise, Pitt submitted to his colleagues, in a small Cabinet *improvisé* at Kensington, a new scheme which he had put together to humour the King, of a descent on the French coast with 5,000 men, escorted by a squadron of gunboats, &c. It might by surprise or a short siege capture Belleisle, that long-coveted object with him. Newcastle sympathised with the design, but feared it was too late in the year to make the attempt.

It would take out of the Realm all the troops of the line we had remaining, and we could not hope to see them back till Christmas. The eloquent apostle of aggression reckoned on the support of the heads of the Naval and Military Departments, but neither Anson nor Ligonier saw his way, the season being too far advanced. As an alternative, Pitt suggested a descent on Boulogne, which would be easily captured or destroyed, and that would be better than nothing. Holderness, seeing the division of opinion, sided with Pitt, and was guilty, the Duke said, of great impertinence to him, ridiculing all his arguments. Finally, Ligonier undertook to ascertain how long it would take to get everything ready, and he able to furnish details to an adjourned meeting.¹ Devonshire's opinion was relied on against the scheme. It was more difficult to get the Chief Justice to come from Caen Wood to dine and deliberate. Newcastle was sorry to find that everybody was in favour of the expedition except Admiral Keppel, who, from recent observation of Belleisle, reported that it had been strengthened since Boscawen's attempt in 1756, and that it was very doubtful whether the citadel did not now command the only landing-place. Nevertheless, the staff were appointed and the flotilla equipped. The more opposition that was offered on the score of details, the more positively Pitt insisted on the enterprise, which he gravely said was the most important he had ever undertaken. "Two or three regiments were actually ordered from Ireland for the expedition, and such a train of artillery and ordnance had passed Claremont on the way to Portsmouth as had never been known to go out of England before; and no one but Hardwicke and Newcastle said no." The Duke told the King of his objections, but he only replied that "Pitt had made the suggestion and he could not stop it, but left it to the Council." The Secretary had talked Lady Yarmouth into thinking it would make a diversion, and was angry with the First Lord for daring to disagree with him. This absurd project had marred the harmony of the Cabinet, but Newcastle was determined it should be dissolved before he would give in to a scheme which would take 10,000 men out of the country, especially as not above a month before Pitt had declared he would not think the country safe with one man less than we then had. The King said he could not support his 4,500 troops in Germany as Elector,

¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, 3rd October. 1760.—MS.

and Pitt talked of reducing the contingent there. George II. went so far as to suggest recalling some of the regiments from America, and that they should make a descent on Martinique as they returned. Pitt argued that we had no more troops in America than were absolutely necessary, and as to Martinique, the officers considered the design impracticable.¹ Admiral Hawke was consulted as to the practicability of the Belleisle scheme, and he declared against it, for from actual knowledge he was certain that it would be impossible to get within two miles of the citadel, and that every part of the island which nature had not rendered impregnable had been strongly fortified or palisaded. Moreover, he asked, after we had gained it, what benefit should we derive from possession of an island totally detached from the mainland? If an 'expedition' was to be undertaken, he was equally averse from one against Martinique.² Pitt grumbled at Hawke's answer to the questions put to him, and for some days longer refused to give way. At length his Majesty was effectually frightened at the perils involved in the attempt on Belleisle, and it was deferred *sine die*.

Feeling himself crippled in his expanding designs by the want of disciplined instruments, the resource suggested itself to Pitt of an extended and organised militia. He would certainly bring on the question the first thing when Parliament met, and would give it his persistent support. Newcastle was afraid that anything like a national militia would be subversive of the Constitution, and he declared that no advice or authority could induce him to vote for it. The majority of his colleagues sided with him, but he knew the Secretary too well to think that this would weigh with him, or that once resolved he would change his mind. Might he not make the rejection of a scheme which he considered so essential to his system a handle for going out? "After having been in Ministerial office thirty-six years, he (the Duke) shou'd be ashamed of himself if he gave in to a measure he thought so ruinous to the Constitution."³ Hardwicke had never yet seen a vigour and readiness in the people to reject the Bill absolutely, unless in some of the warm young men. Henry Fox and his party would never oppose it. In the Session

¹ To Hardwicke, 11th October, 1760.—MS.

² To Anson, 17th October, 1760.—MS.

³ To Hardwicke, 18th October, 1760.—MS.

of 1756 he voted for it, and looking towards Leicester House he might be encouraged to do so now. Many persons who were against the militia in general, thought it of use during the war, and this rendered a consideration of the matter essential before a final resolution to oppose it were come to. Had his Grace always been of the same mind? Hardwicke begged he would "reflect on his former conduct on this point. He thought the Duke voted for it in 1756; he was sure he did in 1757, when there appeared more reason for opposing it from its unpopularity in several counties. He begged he would recollect the speeches he made in favour of the militia at the meetings of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Middlesex; not that he considered him bound by what he then said in a case where his conscience convinced him he ought to oppose a measure, but only to dissuade him from giving anyone a handle to charge him with inconsistency. Still, he could not suffer it to proceed and give his final vote in the Lords against it. That would be more unbecoming, and to quit at present would be impossible."¹ The First Lord said he had never been for the militia, and had only acted in it as Lord-Lieutenant. The trial had been made and failed. The King said he would not permit it, and Newcastle, whose Administration this was, must throw it out. The First Lord expressed his willingness to do this, but pointed out the consequence of losing Pitt at this time. His Majesty treating this with indifference, Newcastle asked how affairs were to be carried on without Pitt, to which he replied, ungraciously: "This country will be too hot for me after the peace."²

A warlike address from the city, exulting in the fall of Montreal, and promising no lack of supplies, filled the Secretary's sanguine cup to overflowing: Pitt said "every word in it was worth £100,000, but these gentlemen and his financial colleagues were not the persons who would furnish Government with money, and Newcastle was persuaded that the Corporation who presented the address would not subscribe £200,000 to the new Loan Holdernes on the 20th of October learned from Lord Granby at Warburg that Generals Tottleben and Lascy, at the head of the Austro-Russian army, were known to have entered Berlin, making prisoners of the garrison. The Duke of Wurtemberg

¹ From Wimpole, 19th October, 1760.—MS.

² Newcastle to Hardwicke, 20th October, 1760.—MS.

moreover, had detached his forces and prepared to go over to the allies ; his corps being reported in good heart and excellent discipline.¹ A few days later came the news that Berlin had been evacuated at the approach of its indomitable King.

But the perplexities caused by these conflicting events, and the anxieties to which they gave rise were suddenly effaced by one wherof there had not been the least forewarning or misgiving. On the morning of the 25th of October, without the least indication of illness or even exceptional weakness, George II. passed away. It is not certain that the temporary reverses of his German allies had made any deep impression on his mind, and they had certainly not affected his temper or spirit. It was his rare fortune to close a reign of thirty-and-thirty years amid a long round of gratulations on the triumph of his arms, in every quarter of the globe. At home tranquillity had been long unbroken, and abroad the character of the nation for enterprise and valour had never stood so high. Save for the part he had borne at Dettingen, he was not personally credited, indeed, with any share of the unexampled success of his time ; but, as compared with other occupants of the Throne, he had upon the whole escaped unpopularity and censure ; and few, if any of the prominent errors of Administration were ascribed to him from the day on which Walpole knelt by his bedside to waken him with the epithet of Majesty, to that on which his daughter tried in vain to find pulsation in his aged heart. He had in turn accepted for his Ministers the men who in the fluctuations of party showed themselves to be best able to take and hold the reins of power. Only on one occasion of importance was he betrayed by temper rather than deliberate purpose into seeking to impose an Administration on the country which the majority of the ruling classes did not want ; and though he frequently demurred and hesitated about appointing to office particular individuals, he eventually acceded always to the predominant views of those around him who swayed the two Houses of the Legislature. If they were often inconsistent and unpatriotic, alternately parsimonious and prodigal, occasionally intolerant without being fanatical, and shamelessly profuse without providing for merit or protecting trade, he was not to blame. He was the acceptor, not the drawer, of the Executive bills presented to him, often against his private

¹ Lord Granby to Secretary Pitt, 13th October, 1760.

prejudice and individual will; and he probably never contemplated the possibility of reigning on any other terms.

George II. might well have distrusted the motives of those who overruled him, as they always said, for his good, but mainly for their own. His character and temper as delineated by one who had the closest opportunities of observing them, do not correspond with the uncandid description given by the impatience of those whose encroachments he frequently kept at bay. Occasionally petulant and hasty in refusing favours which his common sense told him were undeserved, and which there was always someone about him ready to designate as party or personal jobs, he listened to remonstrance; and, the first irritation passed, he yielded when any ground could be shown. Hemmed in on every side by competing rivals and flatterers, disenchanted experience taught him to weigh each new suggestion with reserve and often with reticence. That he did not ultimately bar any good design proposed by responsible Ministers, or reject any good measure adopted by Parliament, can hardly be made the subject of his praise. The veto on legislation was no more a weapon in his time than the prerogative of the Tudor, or the battle-axe of the Norman; and as for resisting pressure from the Cabinet, it is clear that every attempt he made proved brief and nugatory. His only practical assertion of the power of dismissal ended after three months' struggle in palpable failure, and in the main it may be truly said that, with very few exceptions, every great office during his long reign was filled in his name by the party potentates of the hour. His knowledge of foreign affairs, which was greater than most of those around him, gave weight to his discrimination of motives and suggestion of means of diplomatic action, which men like Walpole, Granville, and Henry Fox knew how to appreciate and use. With the wider circle of courtiers and politicians he had the merit of being candid, outspoken, careful of his word, yet easily placable when he thought himself slighted or felt offended. His inherited susceptibility on the subject of Hanover, and partiality for his quaint residence there, begat many troubles and misgivings between him and his advisers; but he certainly had no desire to squander the blood or treasure of his people in aggressive war; he had neither sympathy nor rivalry with his kinsman Frederick in his schemes of gain and glory; and the gravest fault ever charged against him

Constitutionally was his having tried to obtain by a separate treaty in 1757 the neutralisation of the Electorate, which his English Cabinet disapproved, and obliged him to forego.

Lord Waldegrave, who knew him as well as any of his courtiers, says that, in his later years, public business was his chief amusement. He knew more of foreign affairs than most of his Ministers, and took pains to understand the extent and balance of Constitutional rights and duties, of which he was ready at all times to be faithfully advised, even when the counsel offered was not expected or agreeable. Ministers who could not win his personal esteem complained that he was oftentimes abrupt and passionate ; but he had the rare virtue of ~~not~~ dissembling ; and his reconciliation was owned with as little semblance of disguise as his previous ill-humour. With his son he probably remembered that he had often been ‘unreasonable’ ; and to his grandson he seemed as though he would make amends in many traits of kindness and consideration. The experience of a long reign was not calculated to improve his opinion of the purity of Parliament or the patriotism of Ministers. But at least it may be said of George II. that he never engaged in any selfish intrigue to turn the ambition or corruption of party to dynastic account. His concern for the safety of his Electorate was natural and just, and much more to his credit as a man than the recklessly inconsistent way which for twenty years the defence of Hanover was made the football in Parliament and the Press by competing factions.

Cabinet rule had been upon its trial for nearly half a century ; and, despite many blemishes and errors, its superiority to the systems of government that had preceded it was tacitly accepted by the nation. Dynastic controversies had been laid to rest, and civil strife endangering the public peace was heard of no more. The Crown devolved without question or grudge on the next lineal heir ; but, shorn of the power to perplex or disturb the community by the gratification of arbitrary whim, it was no longer an object of jealousy or fear. The supremacy of Parliament had been gradually established—not only in the making of laws, but in the power of enforcing them ; for the Ministers who in combination formed the Executive, though nominally appointed by the King, were, as everybody knew, co-optatively chosen by the chiefs of the party that hap-

pended to be in power. The great nobles who led the Upper House and, through their connections and adherents, swayed the councils of the Lower, decided from amongst themselves who should fill from time to time the great offices of State. Commoners of pre-eminent claims of distinction occasionally won admission to the Cabinet, but the Primacy of the Church and the Presidency of the House of Peers were traditionally reserved for men belonging to the middle ranks of life. Gradually, commercial wealth and ambition vied with the owners of landed estates for the possession of seats in Parliament, and though the anomalies in the representative system admitted neither of question nor justification, the bulk of the community troubled their heads with none of these things. Compared with their neighbours in France, the weight of taxation was moderate if not light ; compared with their kinsfolk in Germany, the immunity from military service was a matter of ineffable pride and boast. Trade thrrove apace ; invention and enterprise daily added to the national store ; the Church maintained its traditional ascendancy, but claimed no longer the right to dictate or domineer in matters of conscience. Catholics and Dissenters were still excluded by statute from the privileges and rewards of citizenship ; but the liberty of opinion, of association, and of worship was practically recognised ; and, if the Press was not actually free, the power of arbitrary interference made no man any more afraid.

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